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AN
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,
PRECEDING
THE REIGN OF MALCOLM III. OR THE YEAR 1056.
INCLUDING
THE AUTHENTIC HISTORY OF THAT PERIOD.
IN TWO VOLUMES.

By JOHN PINKERTON.

Ημεραι επιλοιποι μαρτυρες σοφωτατοι.
Veritas temporis filia. ADAGIA.

A NEW EDITION,
WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by James Ballantyne and Co.

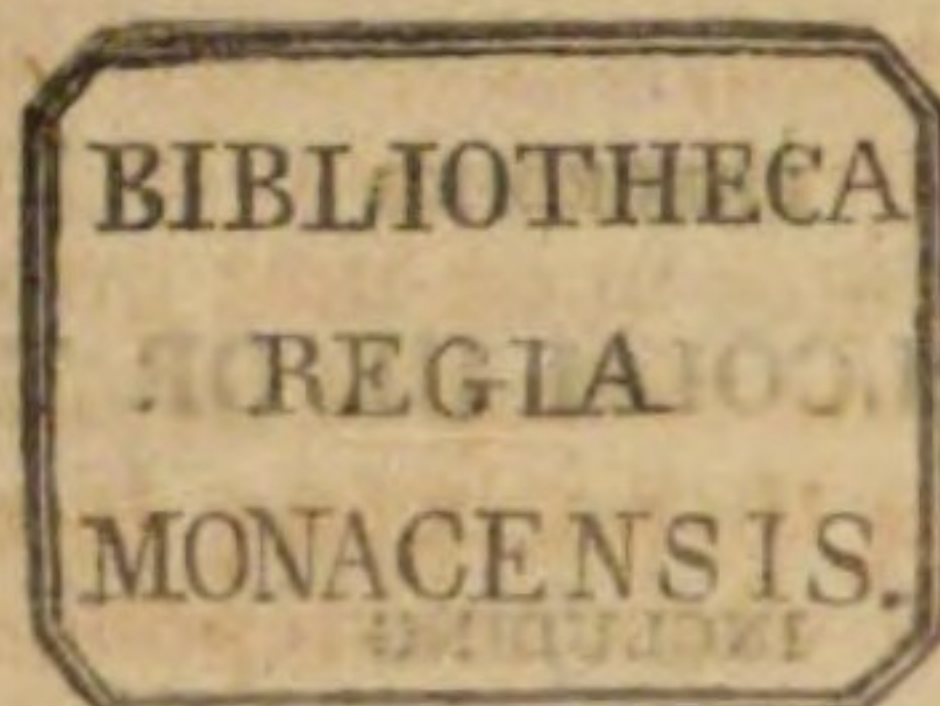
FOR BELL & BRADFUTE; WILLIAM LAING; DOIG & STIRLING;
WILLIAM BLACKWOOD; AND OLIPHANT,
WAUGH & INNES.

1814.

ENQUIRY

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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND



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BY JOHN PINKETON.

London: Printed by J. B. Nichols, in Pall-mall, 1789.

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ADVERTISEMENT

TO THIS EDITION.

IN reprinting this work, a chief object has been to remove some asperities in the language, which had escaped the author in the controversial passages, and which, however justly extorted by the petulant manner of some writers, who, without a shadow of learning, had undertaken to discuss the antiquities of Scotland, yet always excited his regret after the first warmth of composition. The poets have been styled an irritable race; and a similar irritation has too often intruded itself into literary discussion, from the revival of letters to the present day; the most learned writers, the Scaligers, Vossii, Salmasii, and Miltons, being those who are the most reprehensible on this account. For it is chiefly in the examination of the most difficult and thorny parts of literature, that these symptoms of vexation have appeared, superficial writers, who keep the beaten paths, having no thickets to encounter. The study of antiquities, as depending on remote and obscure, and sometimes contradictory human testimonies, is apt, by perplexing and embarrassing the mind, to excite irritation, while the study of the works of nature, depending on the observation of undoubted phenomena, soothes the soul by the operations of eternal wisdom and truth.

It is not therefore a matter of surprise that antiquities and critical learning begin to be neglected, and that natural philosophy and history are the favourite pursuits of the times. Yet, as it must always be esteemed disgraceful to be ignorant

of the history of one's own country, it has been fortunate that the antiquities of most European nations have been examined by learned industry, before men of talents were employed in other pursuits. But Scotland is unfortunately that country of Europe, in which the least erudition has appeared, a deficiency which has been concealed from common observers by the elegant latinity of many of her writers, and by the eminence of her latter historians and scientific authors, whose celebrity arises from lucid period and elegance of diction, and rarely from profound investigation of ancient authorities. At all times negligent of our genuine monuments of antiquity, we find it more easy and convenient to imagine than to discuss; and as it is infinitely difficult and laborious to acquire even a portion of erudition, the defect is conveniently supplied by a fluent imagination, which leaps over all the perplexities of the middle ages, of obscure and barbarous periods, so full of unexpected events, and revolutions irreconcilable with any calculations of human affairs in more enlightened periods. In those poetical fancies a thousand years are but as one day; the lapse of centuries, and the changes of time, are wholly disregarded. The worst point of ignorance is the insensibility of its own wants, the ignorance even of its own ignorance. But as imagination is the common gift of all, it is no wonder we abound so much in imaginary antiquaries, from the parish-clerk up to the squire; and even little misses lisp about the authenticity of Ossian, and the antique purity of the Celtic language.

The *præfervidum ingenium Scotorum*, which has been so long celebrated or branded, admits only of one interpretation in the modern word fanaticism, with which it is in vain to contend, and it must be left to waste itself. It happens fortunately, however, in the diffusion of learning among the modern European states, that one nation corrects the follies of another; and the romantic zeal for the honour of Queen Mary, and of Ossian, are follies peculiar to ourselves. Ignorance has been styled the mother of devotion, but with far more justice may be regarded as the parent of fanaticism; and nothing can be more hopeless than the use of argument, where, far from being felt, it cannot even be understood.

The infatuation of Celtic etymology, of deriving ancient words from a modern language, of a most lax and indefinite nature, and full of terms transferred from the Latin and the Gothic, by the mixture of the Romans, Danes, Norwegians, and

other nations among the Celtic inhabitants of the three kingdoms, has long been an object of surprise and ridicule. In France, the absurd etymologies of Bullet, Cambry, and such dreamers, only excited the smile and wonder of a day, and sunk into deserved oblivion, while the rational systems of Menage, du Cange, and other writers of solid learning, continue to instruct all Europe. No man of real erudition has ever ventured into the bogs haunted by this *ignis fatuus*, this Will-with-the-wisp, which, according to the fancy of the beholder, assumes every possible shape. If it be possible to add to the ridicule, it is, that these deluded writers do not themselves pretend to understand the very language they affect to teach; and it is fortunate if they have even the elements of Latin grammar, as their quotations are sufficient to disturb the slumbers of Priscian. There was anciently a belief in seven spheres; and certainly there are very different spheres in human intellect; and one supreme in which the classical or truly learned and deservedly eminent authors of all countries move; and which is scarcely comprehensible, *except by congenial minds*. There is another, and very inferior sphere, a kind of phantasmagoria, in which a dark mirror sends forth unreal images to captivate the vulgar.

A genuine specimen of the Irish language in the ninth century has been recovered, and is partly reprinted in the Appendix to the Dissertation on the Goths. It is doubted if any of our Celtic interpreters can understand this fragment, while they boldly discuss the imaginary Celtic of the fourth century.

It is far from the author's intention to enter into controversy with ten or a dozen writers, who have opposed various parts of this work. It is a trite observation, that a good book will defend itself, and a bad one is not worth a defence. The learned have been pleased, and he does not aspire to please the ignorant. But, amidst this enlightened age, he must gently complain that his antagonists have few weapons, except what they draw from his own arsenal; and that they are commonly indebted to him even for the learning which they display. Pliny has mentioned it as one of the first praises of an ingenuous mind, to indicate the sources whence instruction has been derived; but at no period, and in no country, has the base and insidious artifice of stealing another man's labour and industry been more practised than in the present instance. Whole volumes of plagiarism have appeared, as

if readers of real learning did not exist, or no posterity was to be expected, to strip the jack-daw of his borrowed feathers.

Not seldom has the theft been attempted to be palliated by abuse, as the robber knocks down the passenger he has pillaged. This species of dishonesty has proceeded so far, that it is even dangerous in conversation to drop a hint of any discovery, lest it may be appropriated by those literary eves-droppers, who, like a species of sea-fowl, live upon what has been disgorged by the others. If the candid reader will collate the later works on Scottish antiquities, history, and poetry, with the author's numerous publications on these subjects, to which he had for near twenty years devoted his labour, health, and income, the justness of these observations will be speedily perceived. He can say, with a pure conscience, that he had no object in view but an inborn love of the subject, connected with a wish to serve his country, by raising her ancient poetry and history to a level with those of other European nations; and he must at any rate rejoice that his example has been followed by so many imitators. The venerable father of Scottish history has observed, upon a far more solemn occasion, that in so narrow a scene as Scotland, malignity and envy were the national characteristics: and the history of our literature even to the present hour presents many lamentable examples of this singularity, as the conduct of Stewart towards Robertson and Henry, and other recent examples, will evince. Scottish authors, whose reputation is venerated in Europe, America, and Hindostan, are attacked in Scotland only; and those to whom statues would be erected in other countries are here traduced and vilified.

*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis,
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.*

This spirit, if not checked by the public contempt, will extinguish all sound literature; for the chief incentive to labour is reputation; and it is better to strive where there are no judges, than where the pretended judges are themselves malicious and insidious candidates. The chief and sacred intention of literature is the propagation of truth and virtue; and if it be perverted into an instrument of falsehood and licentiousness, the good will sigh for the superior advantages of ignorance.

Having premised these general observations, which were necessary in self-defence,

(Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,)

it will be proper to mention some of the little alterations in this edition; for this work, the labour of many years, had not been presented to the public without great care. Some corrections and additions will be observed in the Dissertation at the end, chiefly adopted from the French translation, particularly the valuable letter of M. Gossellin to the author, upon the Ptolemaic geography of Scotland. The specimen of ancient Irish appears to have escaped all our antiquaries; and the passage of Linnæus is not a little curious, as it throws an unexpected light on the progress of the Goths from the east.

But the chief intention of this advertisement yet remains, which is to give some additional fragments of our early history, which have recently occurred.

The existence of the Province of Vespasiana seems to be further confirmed by the discovery of Roman roads in that part of the country. One, of three or four miles, has been observed on the north of the Erne, near Inchafry, and ending at a good ford over that river. Mr Pennant, in the appendix to the third volume of his Tour, has described a Roman road of nine miles by Direge-muir, Byres, Stobhall, Hutton, to the banks of the river Ilay. It is believed to be without example, that Roman roads should have been made, except in a Roman province; and it would appear that no doubt should exist concerning Vespasiana. At Burgh-head, the *Castra Alata* of the Romans, Professor Stuart of Aberdeen (to whom I am indebted for some valuable documents, presently to be produced,) has carefully examined a singular reservoir, which appears to be Roman. The description shall be given in his own words:—"Burgh-head is a promontory projecting into the Moray Firth, about ten miles from Forres, eastward, which is connected with the adjacent coast by a narrow neck of land. The promontory is composed of a freestone (sandstone) rock, rising about sixty feet above the level of the surrounding sea, and contains, perhaps, two Scots acres. On the west side is a small haven or harbour, finely sheltered from the easterly winds blowing up the Firth. All around the top of the rock are seen the remains of a rampart, consisting of pieces of freestone of all sizes, intermixed with lime and fragments of wood, having

the appearance of being partially burned. On some pieces of the freestone are seen remains of mouldings and carved figures, particularly of a bull, very well executed. Across the isthmus are three concentric ditches of a very great width and depth, fully equal to those at Ardoch, or any other Roman work in Scotland. The fishing village here was called Terrytown, and it is supposed to have been the Ptoroton of Ptolemy the geographer.

“ In summer 1809 or 10, while digging the foundations for new buildings upon the eastern side, the workmen came to a stair of well-dressed freestone, which induced them to follow it downwards. Cleaning away the rubbish as they went along, to the depth of about thirty or forty feet, there was found at the bottom a square of about twelve feet, containing about a foot or two of fresh water, having the appearance of a reservoir, either to receive rain from the clouds, or sea-water, freshened by filtering through the freestone beneath. The four sides of this reservoir, which seemed a perfect square in its form, were very neatly covered with smooth lime plaster, to the height of eight or ten feet; and above appeared the opening through the natural rock quite up to the top. No spring, nor other water, appeared within the fortress.”

The worthy professor has added an account of some singular remains in Aberdeenshire. They consist of circular buildings of stone, without any cement, from ten to twenty feet in diameter, and now only about two feet above the ground. There are commonly three close to each other, and connected with two or three more, at a small distance, by parallel walls. There are, at least, forty or fifty of these structures, and perhaps many more, scattered over a surface of more than a mile in circuit. They stand on a low hill covered with furse and heath, about ten miles from Aberdeen, and four miles on the north of the Dee, near the remains of a very large Roman camp called Normandikes, which is about twelve miles to the north of that near Stonehaven, supposed to have been the scene of the battle between Agricola and Galgacus; and in this line of march there is an excellent ford across the Dee. The professor supposes, with much plausibility, that these rude habitations may be the remains of Devana, the capital of the Texali, the ancient inhabitants of this region. I am informed, that at no great distance there are other remains of the same kind. It is well

known that the hovels in many parts of Siberia were chiefly hollowed into the ground, in order to obtain a greater and more equal warmth.

The bull, in the above description of Burgh-head, is the well-known badge of a Roman colony; and it might seem that the inscription on the building called Arthur's Oven, which appears, from Boyce's account, to have been in honour of Claudius by Vespasian, had some connection with the name of the province. In the valuable collection of manuscripts at Panmure, the author found, at the end of the *Extracta e Chronicis Scotiae*, some notes by Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow, about 1560, containing remarks on different Scottish antiquities. He says that a Roman inscription was visible in his time, above the door of *Arthur's Huif*, as he terms it, and which was probably rightly read by Boyce. He also describes some curious carved stones near Newtyle, not far from Cupar in Angus, which, he says, were called the Thanes Stones, and were erected when the country was a vast forest, and he minutely describes a female figure on one of these monuments.

It has been the subject of some difficulty to discover the church founded by Kenneth III. to which he transferred the remains of St Columba, after Icolmkill began to be infested by the Danes. A Saxon manuscript, probably of the tenth century, published by Hickes,¹ serves to elucidate this point. It is intituled *De Sanctis in Anglia sepultis*; and immediately after St Alban, who is first mentioned, is *Sanctus Columcille requiescit in loco dicto Duncahan juxta fluvium Tau*. It is evident that *Duncahan* is *Duncaldan*, or Dunkeld upon the river Tay; so that the Irish vainly contend that his bones were carried to Ireland, though, perhaps, his crosier, or some other relics, may have been conveyed thither. It hence also appears that Dunkeld is to be ranked amongst the most ancient churches in Scotland, which seem to stand in this order, Whithern, Abernethy, St Andrews, Dunkeld, Brechin. There was probably a round tower at Dunkeld as at Abernethy and Brechin, while the square tower of St Regulus at St Andrews was built by an architect from the continent;—whence, perhaps, the very name and fable of St Regulus have arisen. That these round towers were belfreys is sufficiently evident, from the simple circumstance of their having windows or openings at the usual height, necessary to

¹ Thes. ii. 117.

emit the sound of the bell. Separate belfreys are not uncommon in many countries, and even in some parts of England at this day ; and must have been necessary for security when the rude churches were of wood. When the cathedral of Brechin was built, the round tower was preserved as a memorable relic, like the chapel of St Regulus close by the cathedral of St Andrews. At the curious chapel at Auldbar, about three miles from Brechin, where there is a singular monument described by Mr Pennant, the bell was suspended on an ancient ash-tree, on the summit of one ridge of the deep and romantic glen, at the bottom of which the chapel is placed, and where the sound would have been too much confined.

It is well known that there exist in various parts of Scotland, but chiefly on the east side, from the river Tay as far as the county of Sutherland, singular erect stones, generally with crosses on one side, and upon the other sculptures, not ill executed for a barbarous age. These chiefly abound in the county of Angus, the centre of the Pikish dominions. There are four at Aberlemno and five at Meigle, including a lintel over the door of the clergyman's garden, which has upon one side cattle and a deer seized by a dog, and on the other salmon and other fish, but the latter have been almost erased by a barbarous modern chisel. That at the chapel of Auldbar is singular, as, instead of horsemen and spears, there are two persons sitting, probably religious ; and beneath them a man, seemingly tearing out a lion's tongue, perhaps Samson, and opposite to him a curious figure of an antique harp : while under these are a man on horseback, a lamb, a bullock, and perhaps an ass. At Meigle the most curious is that representing a lady riding in a British car, with a single horse and a driver ; and which a respectable gentleman in the neighbourhood has ordered to be defended with an iron railing, in the laudable view of its preservation. There is also a singular stone of this kind at Essie, between Glamis and Meigle. One at Glamis, like the lintel above mentioned, and another at Meigle, presents salmon, which, like the deer and cattle, probably point to the sources of wealth of the distinguished persons, to whose memory they were erected. Under the salmon at Glamis is a mirror, which always indicates a female. On the stone lately discovered at Dunichen, the seat of my excellent friend George Dempster, Esquire, there are a mirror and a comb ; and the same sym-

bols occur on another published by Mr Cordiner in his *Picturesque Antiquities*, and which also represents the lady riding out to hunt, with two footmen blowing horns, and two other attendants on horseback. That at Glamis may have been erected in memory of Malcolm II., who there died a natural death according to the oldest chronicles; but the fables told by Pennant, a pleasing, and sometimes instructive, but, upon the whole, a careless and inaccurate writer, are beneath confutation. Among a thousand paths it is not to be supposed that the murderers would escape by passing the lake of Forfar at the distance of eight miles; and his understanding seems to have deserted him when he supposes that the assassins of a monarch would have thought of carrying off his kitchen utensils. The vessels found in the lake of Forfar, and which are preserved at the castle of Glamis, are of copper or brass, being a jug like a coffee-pot, perhaps for hippocras, or spiced wine; and two boiling kettles, one of which is very wide and flat, perhaps to answer the purpose of a modern fish-kettle. It may not be absurd to suppose that they belonged to the castle of Malcolm Canmore, where his Queen Margaret is said to have resided in his absence. Sinclair, in his notes above mentioned, 1560, says he was present when an ancient door-case, supposed to have belonged to the castle of Queen Margaret, was found in the lake of Forfar. It was as perfect as at the first erection, having become pure black oak, such as is found in our peat muirs.

It is much to be wished that a general collection of all these curious monuments were published in plates of a just size, those of Mr Pennant being too diminutive, as well as those of Mr Cordiner, whose representations cannot be trusted, his imagination being strangely perverted by some fantastic ideas of the picturesque, while those of Mr Gordon are too rude and inaccurate.

The most remarkable, and almost perpetual, symbol on these stones, is that in the plate annexed, of two circles joined, and crossed by another badge, resembling two sceptres connected by a cross line. Sometimes, as at Glamis, there are two circles with a large one in the centre: sometimes, as in the plate annexed, a serpent is surmounted by the two sceptres. These symbols occur both in the male and female monuments; and, amidst so much obscurity, it may not be unreasonable to conjecture that they denote the royal race,

which was so numerous among the Piks, owing to the singular mode of their succession in the female line, as explained in this work, which also shows the respect paid to the females of that race, honoured by many monuments. If we may trust the singular document preserved in the Register of St Andrews, and which bears to have been written by a Pikish scribe at Meigle, where there are so many of these monuments, (not to mention the curious square embankment in the neighbourhood, perhaps at first a Roman fortress, and afterwards an occasional residence of the Pikish monarchs,) there were at one time not less than fifty virgins of the royal race in the convent at St Andrews.

It may be also reasonable to infer that the centaurs, elephants, and some other representations on these singular monuments, may have passed from the Roman masons left in Britain, after the departure of the military force, to their native apprentices, and thus have descended with the craft, as traditional decorations without meaning, as the skulls of bulls used in ancient sacrifices continue to mark certain parts of modern architecture. But the surest explanation of these monuments would arise from a collection and collation of all that remain. Some decorations, similar to those on the Pikish monuments, may be found on the Runic monuments of Scandinavia, and some in the old Anglo-Saxon churches. The cross shews that they belong to a Christian people, which the Danes were not when they invaded Scotland; and it is indeed ridiculous to suppose that bands of marauders, who regarded nothing but prey, could have had time for such erections, some of them the labour of months or years. It is confessed on all hands that no such monuments are found in Wales or Ireland, which, of itself, affords an invincible argument that the Piks were of a distinct origin, connate with the Scandinavians and Saxons, but of no affinity with the Celts.¹ Unhappily when our ancient history ap-

¹ That the Piks passed from Scandinavia to Scotland before the Christian æra, is further proved by one of the most learned of the Danish antiquaries, Suhm, in his General History of the Danes, vol. 1, p. 299, of the German translation.

It must not however be forgotten, that Kenneth III. 843, ascended the Pikish throne from that of Dalriada, and brought numbers of his former subjects with him. Hence the author of the Life of St Cadroes, (*Colgan, Vitæ Sanct. Hib.*) in the tenth century, represents the *Scots* as possessing the lands about St Andrews. Nor would it be wonderful if some territorial names in the east were modern Gaelic, derived from this circumstance; or

proached the dawn of authenticity, the apparition of Ossian became a new Leviathan of ignorant fanaticism, which, whether religious or secular, devours all the reasonable faculties, and, like insanity, leaves the mind a prey to one exclusive imagination.

At the very time of writing these few pages on these singular monuments, the author is unexpectedly informed by the noble proprietor, that a curious stone of this description exists at Freeland House, on the south of the river Erne. It had been rolled down by the romantic rivulet called May, as well as other carved stones found in the same neighbourhood, some of which are now built into the walls of cottages. This stone appears to have been placed over a door, being of a semicircular form. In the middle are two figures sitting, and beneath are cattle and other sculptures. Being found in the parish of Forteviot, it is probable that these are remains of the ancient palace of Forteviot, a chosen residence of the Pikish monarchs after they left Inverness, and which probably stood upon the river May.

One of the most interesting monuments of this kind has been recently discovered at Pitmachie, in Aberdeenshire, being the second stage from Aberdeen on the road to Huntly. Here, in a small thicket near the toll-bar, were two stones of small-grained granite, (while the others are mostly red sandstone, subject to decay,) and rising about six feet above the ground. Both these stones are represented in the annexed plate; but the one with a serpent is now removed to the adjacent house of Newton. That which remains presents the inscription annexed, which is reduced from a facsimile of the natural size, executed under the eye of the proprietor, and repeatedly examined by Professor Stuart, to whom the author cannot sufficiently express his sense of his kind assistance on this and other occasions. The letters are about an inch and a half in length, and cut to the depth of about one quarter of an inch. The stone has also been examined by two other gentlemen, one of whom gave a copy which he had made, and promises to engrave himself, being an amateur of the arts; and who also stated, that the second line having exceeded in length, the rude carver had brought a letter or two over the angle, and, seemingly to avoid this

if the Gaelic language prevailed at the court, whence the report of the total extinction of the Piks and their language.

in future, he had begun the other lines over the angle on the other hand.

This curious inscription, which is, it is believed, unique, is now submitted to the literati. The characters seem to resemble the Anglo-Saxon as published by Hickes, especially those on the coins of the kings of Northumbria of the ninth century. It is reasonable, indeed, to infer that any arts of civilization passed from the south to the north, there being no intercourse with the continent, except by rude mariners, for even in the sixth century, as we learn from the life of St Columba, Gallic mariners visited the western islands of Scotland. It is also remarkable, that in the same curious biography we find mention of a Saxon *Pistor*, or Baker; so that the art of eating was at least not unknown. In later times we know, from an English historian, the Scots made, on one occasion, so many prisoners that scarcely a cottage was without its slave. It is also to be supposed, that during the inroads of the pagan Danes, many of the Christian Saxons sought refuge in a country, which, though often inimical, was yet of the same faith. But these observations are submitted to the curious enquirer, and the letters and the language to the examination of the learned of all countries.

To Professor Stuart the author is also indebted for the following important paper, which will lead to new ideas concerning the office of Thane.¹

Translation from the Latin of a Paper in the Possession of the Family of Viscount Arbuthnot, in Kincardineshire.

Patrick Abbot of Dumferline; Henry of Arbroath; Rembald of Scoon; Guido of Lindores; Thomas Prior of St Andrews; John of May; Berengarius of Restennet; Rainal Archdeacon of St Andrews; and the Deans and Clergy who were Members of the Synod of Perth, which was held upon the Third of the Idus of April, in the Year of Christ 1206.

To all and sundry to whose sight and hearing these presents shall come, eternal salvation in Christ. Be it known to

¹ The learned professor has also evinced, from several ancient documents, that the death of Duncan II. 1095, happened at *Mondynes*, in the Mearns, and not at *Monteith*, as carelessly stated by Boyce, and his copyists Buchanan and others.

you all, that the cause or action which was intented and pleaded between William, of blessed memory, sometime bishop of St Andrews, upon the one part, and Duncan of Arbuthnot on the other part, anent that portion of the lands of Arbuthnot, which is called Kirktown, which the said bishop maintained, did belong to the church of St Andrews of right, and of which the said Duncan robbed that church, without regard to law or order: which action has, by the authority of this national synod, obtained a legal decision, in manner following, viz. That the declaration of the right and property which the said bishop claimed in these lands being heard, the opposite party being also heard in what they had to say, the truth of the matter under debate being fully enquired into, and known by unexceptionable witnesses; By the unanimous consent and assent of all the constituent members of the said synod, we have pronounced the following definitive sentence, adjudging the property and possession of these same lands, and *of the men who dwell thereon*, to that church of St Andrews, and to the said Bishop William of these presents, imposing perpetual silence on the said Duncan and his successors: and that the justice of our procedure in this cause may stand in a true light, we have thought fit to subjoin the depositions of the witnesses upon which this sentence is founded.

John of Hastinkes being solemnly sworn, depones, That in the time of Bishop Richard, and Osbert Olifard who then possessed the lands in debate, he was sheriff and forester of the Mearns, and that he observed a great number of inhabitants upon the lands about which the strife now is, and that when the men of that town were prosecuted about any thing which depended on his jurisdiction, the bishop's bailiffs came to him, holding in their hands a brieve of our sovereign lord the king, and repledged them as being the bishop's men, and that their long carriages were a perquisite of the bishop's court.

Isaac Benewin depones, That in the time of Bishop Hugh and Osbert Olifard, when the said *Osbert* took on the Jerusalem Cross for an expedition to the Holy Land, he farmed the king's revenue, due out of the lands of Kirktown, from the said Osbert as possessor thereof, and at that time the Kirktown had good bigging on it, and there were upon the Kirktown eight tenants who were called Goodmen, besides subtenants who had houses in the town, and beasts feeding

on the pasturage. That Osbert's due out of the said town at that season was ten cheeses out of every reeking house within the Kirktown, made of the whole of their milk: fifteen days either before or after the feast of St John the Baptist. And that for shearing his corns in harvest, he had out of every house three men one day by way of bondage; depones, That the foresaid Osbert informed him, that the inhabitants of the Kirktown were bound to furnish their quota of provisions for the king's retinue when going upon any expedition. Being interrogated about the mill, answered, that the tenants in that town had a privilege of grinding their victual every Friday, multure free, and that when the deponent insisted against them, that they should be obliged to pay as others did who were Osbert's men, they shewed him a place where had been formerly a mill on their own lands, which they had a power to rebuild, which, when he understood to be truth, he agreed the matter with them, believing, that it was in vain for him to contend with them, whom the bishop always defended as his own men. That when the deponent enquired of Osbert what right he had upon their lands and possessions, when any of the tenants were removed by death, Osbert replied, that he had no right to set any tack there, but all was in the power and disposition of the bishop, as being his own property, to give the lands and houses to whom he pleased, and that when one of the name of *Gillandris*, who was a cripple, was an inhabitant of that town, and more stiff than the rest, Osbert thinking that if he was removed the others would be more pliable, he offered Bishop Hugh a horse worth five merks to remove him, which the bishop understanding he was a native of the place, would in nowise consent to. The said Isaac also depones, That during the six years he possessed these lands, both in the days of Osbert, and Walter his successor, he received nothing out of the same but what is above-mentioned, unless a moiety of Blood-witts, and of the *Marchita Mulierum*, the other moiety was due to the bishop. Also, that he has seen the bishop's official and others, both of the clergy and laity pertaining to him, lodge in that town as their own land, and with their own men. As also, that after this, Walter Olifard gave his lands of Arbuthnot to Hugh Swinton, after the death of Bishop Hugh and Gillandris, he removed sundry of the tenants one after another, the rest of them Duncan his son removed immediately upon his father's death, and was the first who began to labour the land himself.

Adam Benewin being sworn, depones in all things with his uncle Isaac, unless that these things fell out in the time of Richard Bishop of St Andrews of pious memory.

Isaac, the clerk, being sworn, depones, That he was sent for the bishops of Caithness, Moray, and Ross, to assist at the consecration of Bishop Richard, and that he lodged on his way with Helias, priest of Aberbuthnot, and in the time of that Duncan saw very many houses upon that ground, which, as was told him, pertained to the bishop of St Andrews, and was likewise confirmed that no thane before him did ever put plough in these lands. That when the deponent came to visit Walter Scott lying at the point of death, thinking to find out the truth from a person of known integrity, and well versed in all such affairs, he conjured him, by the salvation of his soul, to tell him what in conscience he believed to be the truth in this affair—whose answer was, that he very much admired how Duncan could appropriate the bishop's land to himself, and to claim jurisdiction therein, since in the time of *eight thanes* and more, he had known the bishops of St Andrews enjoy these lands as their property. He in like manner declared, that he had seen several bishops at several times lodged there, that he had been at entertainments with them on the spot, and sent them compliments and refreshments from his house: and since he saw death approaching, he caused write down these things and seal them before his wife, which he desired might be looked on as his death evidence in the matter.

Felix being sworn, says, That in his father's time he has seen the bishops of happy memory, Arnold and Richard, frequently lodged in Kirktown of Aberbuthnot, as in their own lands, and that in his father's house, who was the bishop's tenant, and that he and the other inhabitants furnished all that came to their share for the bishop's service and accommodation. That he has seen the bishop's officials, and others belonging to him, both clergymen and laicks, in their journeyings, lodged there as in the bishop's own demesnes.—Says that he has known *thirteen thanes* to have had these lands, and that he never perceived any uneasiness given to the inhabitants till the time of Isaac, and that the bishops of St Andrews peaceably enjoyed these lands, paying the usual tribute to the thane until the time of Isaac Benewin, who first began to vex them: after him Hugh Bane, and the present

Duncan, removed the bishop's tenants from it; and finally, that no thane ever laboured these lands without the bishop's licence, unless this Duncan.

Hathckin the priest being sworn, depones, That he has lived in the days of six bishops of St Andrews, and that it consists with his knowledge that the bishops of St Andrews without molestation enjoyed the lands of Kirktown as their own. That he lodged there twice with Bishop Richard, and once with Bishop Arnold.—Depones likewise, That the bishop's tenants were removed by the vexation given them by the father of this Duncan, and by Duncan himself.—And that no person before him laboured these lands unless authorised by the bishop.

Maurice the priest being sworn, says, That he has seen Bishop Richard lodged in that town as his own ground, and that the men who were tenants there furnished him necessities as to their master.—That this Duncan and his father Hugh Bane removed the natives and tenants from that ground, and were the first who in opposition to the bishop possessed and laboured the same.

Hugh the official being sworn, depones, That he knew Bishop Richard lodged in that town as upon his own ground, in the days of *Malcolm*, king of Scots, and that the tenants thereof furnished necessities to him as their master—that he was then in the bishop's retinue. Being interrogated who first ejected the natives, says he knows not, but is very positive, that none before Duncan ever laboured these lands against the will of the bishop.

Andrew Cass being sworn, says, That he was with his brother Bishop Hugh of pious memory, when he lodged and was entertained upon the Kirktown as his own lands; that necessities were furnished by the tenants, and compliments given at his departure, after he had abode one night with them.—That he uplifted the duty of that town in the days of Bishop Roger of pious memory, viz. two young cows of yellow or reddish colour, and that he had no business either with Duncan or any other but with the bishop's men. That after the death of Bishop Roger, this Duncan ejected the whole tenants, and was the first who laboured these lands in opposition to the bishop.

Brice Goodman of New Lonage being sworn, depones, That he has seen the Bishops Richard and Hugh receive entertainments from the inhabitants of that town as from their

own men, and that the natives of that place, albeit they received vexation from Hugh de Benno and others, were not ejected till after the death of Bishop Roger, by this Duncan, who was the first that possessed that town in opposition to the bishop.

Gillepeder being sworn, says, That he has seen the bishops of St Andrews, Robert, Arnold, and Richard, lodged in these lands as their own, and to have been entertained there without contradiction, as by their own men: Depones also, That the natives and other inhabitants of that town were ejected through the vexatious treatment they met with from Hugh Swinton, Hugh de Benno, and of this Duncan, who first laboured that town with the bishop's consent.

Malcolm of Edyel being sworn, says, That he did not see but heard from his predecessors, that the bishops of St Andrews had out of these lands in question, what of right belonged to them, according to the former depositions.

Cormack of Newdoesk being sworn, says, That he has seen the Bishops Richard and Hugh receive entertainments upon the *Kirktown*, as upon their own grounds and from their own men, which men were removed, from the vexation they met with from Hugh de Benno, the father of this Duncan, and Duncan himself, who was the first of the three that first put plough in these lands.

Summerleth of the *Aiddershaw* being sworn, says, That he has seen the Bishops Arnold and Richard abiding sometime in this town as their own, without the least interruption. That this Duncan was the first who wrested this town out of the bishop's hands; depones, That he observed Bishop Roger once on his journey decline receiving an entertainment from the people of that town by reason of their poverty,—that these men were ejected through the maltreatment they met with from Hugh de Benno, Hugh Swinton, the father of this Duncan, and Duncan himself.

The above is said to have been translated from the original Latin, in the possession of Lord Arbuthnot, about 1700, by a Mr Clerk, schoolmaster at Bervie.

It seems probable that the *Thanes*, the name itself being derived from an old German word, signifying *to serve*, were only so called as being immediate servants of the king, em-

ployed as stewards of his several farms, and collectors of the rude taxes. In the Annals of Ulster, they seem to be called *exactatores Regis*, or the king's tax gatherers, while the mormars, or chiefs of provinces, are translated *comites* or earls. It is therefore absurd in our historians to speak of Thanes of Fife, or of Ross; while, in fact, the only synonyme of Thane, is the modern laird or small landed proprietor. In ancient writings Thanes are placed after earls and barons, and classed with the *firmarii* or king's farmers. In a deed of 1492, Calder of Calder, and Brodie of Brodie, are promiscuously styled *Thanes*, or *of that Ilk*.¹ This office, like that of earl, seems to have been at first during pleasure, afterwards for life: and, in progress of time, by favour, and afterwards by custom, Thanedoms became hereditary. Some Thanes held of earls, paying a certain revenue to their superior.²

Feb. 1814.

This advertisement was here concluded, when, by the advice of some literary friends, the following pages were added:

Semper ego auditor tantum, nunquamne reponam,
Vexatus toties rauci Theseide Codri?

It would be as needless to mention, as easy to confute, the numerous books and pamphlets published in England and France against various parts of this work, but some observations may be expected on a production which attempts to supply by quantity what it wants in quality, the enormous and interminable *Caledonia*, by George Chalmers, Esq. author of many commercial and political works, modern biographies, two large volumes on the fabricated papers ascribed to Shakspeare, &c. &c. &c. but still better known perhaps by two lines of a celebrated satirist:

At genius, towering in his pride of place,
See ponderous Chalmers aim his leaden mace.

That a man without a shadow of learning, and whose pursuits had even to his old age been political and mercantile,

¹ That is, *of the same*, the name and estate being identic.

² See the *Survey of the Province of Moray*, 1798, 8vo, the first part of which is ably written by Mr Grant.

should suddenly attempt themes only fit for the most profound erudition, is indeed a phenomenon. But as ignorance is insensible of its own ignorance, it is the less a wonder that a writer whose quotations shew that, far from writing, he can not even read Latin, should not only engage in a task so foreign to his little means, but should have the presumption to judge his judges. Have his politics led him to forget his Shakspeare?

*The insolence of office, and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes.*

Certainly this author, who labours so much by the help of assistants, and who reads, like Richardson the painter, with borrowed spectacles, can never be suspected of hypochondria, or any of the *morbi eruditorum*, and far less of bashfulness, but there must be a singular warp in that judgment which could even conceive the idea of writing two large volumes to prove that the papers ascribed to Shakspeare and of detected falsity, might nevertheless have been true! To the same judgment, and by the same rule, all the fables and falsehoods in the History of Scotland may be true.

It was impossible for any new writer using the industry of others not to gather some scraps of antiquity; but it has been observed by a man of real learning, that the only discovery worth notice is the derivation of the house of Stuart from the English Fitzallans. Now this is a mere amplification of a remark at the very beginning of my History of Scotland under the House of Stuart. If the other borrowed plumes were in like manner withdrawn, the work would be reduced to a very reasonable compass. The plagiarisms are so gross that no man of any tincture of learning, or of that candour which always accompanies it, no man sensible that he was writing in a learned age and under the eyes of learned judges, would have ventured upon the smallest of them. But the naked and unconscious impudence of real, stark, inborn ignorance, is proverbial. The ostrich hides his head and thinks no one sees him.

It is only necessary further to add, that the *opinions* of this new Tristram Shandy, this bold plagiarist and heterogeneous compiler, have been so ably confuted by the truly learned Dr Jamieson, in the introduction to his valuable Dictionary of the Scottish Language, that the reader needs only to be referred to a work so well known and justly esteemed. It must

at the same time be remembered, that all the sciences proceed upon certain *data*; even the mathematics require allowed axioms; and in the ancient history of all nations it is indispensable to admit the most ancient authorities as the sole foundations of any knowledge we can acquire. If we reject them, or pretend to refute them, no science can remain, and any dreamers may build an infinite series of romances from their own imaginations, as their boldness will always be in exact proportion to their ignorance. A Russian scholar could just as easily prove that the Caledonians were a Slavonic race, as a Celtic scholar that they were a Celtic. When, therefore, a modern pretends to confute Cæsar and Tacitus, in their accounts of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, any man of science would disdain to enter the field. In fact, such an idea could not even occur except to a mind totally estranged from sound and solid literature; it is a mere phantom of the darkness of ignorance. Are we for a moment to conceive that a different plan is to be followed in discussing the ancient history of Scotland, from that used by all the learned of all other countries? The very position is so absurd, that if admitted, it could only lead to the mortifying conclusion that the country is so grossly ignorant that even the first principles of science are unknown. It is to be hoped, on the contrary, that it will only serve as a beacon to warn other unskilful adventurers of the rocks which their frail barks may encounter, in the vast ocean of ancient literature.

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Lizars Sculpt. Edin.

STONES at PITMACHIE

P R E F A C E.

THE history of Scotland begins to be sufficiently clear at the commencement of the reign of Malcom III. or the year 1056. But the period preceding that date has been long lost in fiction, for the same reason that an uncultivated field is overgrown with weeds : industry being as necessary in the literary as in the natural world.

Struck with the deplorable state of the ancient history of his country, at a time so enlightened as the present, and when most other kingdoms have weighed their antiquities in the sober scales of criticism, the author has devoted years of labour to this pursuit. Besides the powerful motive of curiosity, that fountain of human knowledge, he was influenced by the wish of being useful to his countrymen ; among whom he was concerned to see the most ingenious writers daily starting the most hypothetic conjectures concerning their early history. To examine the subject to the bottom were required considerable reading, previous experience in such matters, much leisure and love of the subject, and no great desire of

wealth or fame. As these are no longer objects of praise, the author may, without offending modesty, lay claim to a portion of them.

The importance of the work was indeed such as might have excited, and required, far superior abilities. To fix the history of a country on the eternal basis of truth, is certainly none of the meanest of human enterprizes: nor is it a small object to attempt to remove from any nation that most disgraceful of all kinds of ignorance, the ignorance of its own history. One of the greatest of the ancients has warmly expressed himself on this subject; telling us that, “Not to know what has happened before one’s birth, is to be always a child.” And he observes elsewhere, with great justice, that “to him none seemed to have any claim to learning, who were ignorant concerning the affairs of their own country.”¹ And the early history of any country, the foundation upon which the rest stands, should above all be carefully examined, as the whole edifice depends upon it; for, as an eminent historian remarks,² “how is it possible that, while the beginnings are false, the rest should prove true?”

Such an examination requires great labour; but to

¹ Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum. *Cicero*. Mihi quidem nulli eruditi videntur quibus nostra ignota sunt. *Idem de Fin.* Add *Cassiodorus, Var. Orat. VII.* “Perdus ac pernox, patrum memorias revolve: scrutare gentis tuæ cunabula: res gestas et annalium monumenta observa. Turpe enim est in patria sua peregrinum agere.” This last sentence is also from *Cicero*, who says, “peregrinari in patria turpe est.”

² *Polyb. lib. 3.*

him who undertakes it with due love of the subject, the labour is its own reward, *labor ipse voluptas*. Not only so, but the labour renders the subject easy and familiar after a certain progress ;¹ so that, from variety of information, the enquirer is enabled to explain it fully, and to place it in the clearest point of view. Yet this labour is very painful at first, however great the love of the subject may be ; and it is no wonder that, in the words of Thucydides,² “ amongst most men, even the investigation of truth is impatient of labour ; so that they rather have recourse to what is next at hand.” But in subjects of this kind, the greatest labour is absolutely necessary ; and a superficial book may be ever regarded as a false one. A thousand grains of gold must be collected, and formed into one ingot ; a thousand little facts must be conjoined ; a thousand falsehoods exploded. No theory can be admitted ; nor is it even allowed to argue from one fact to another. The circumstances are so minute, and various, that great literary experience is required to guard against mistakes. *Il faut etre extremement au fait de ces matieres pour ne s’y point tromper*, says a learned writer on these subjects,³ all whose care could not however save him from radical errors. Those points which, in theory, have most verisimilitude, will, upon laborious examination of the facts, prove to be entirely false ; and those which seemed false in theory, will prove true in fact.

¹ ——— Cui LECTA POTENTER erit res,

Nec facundia deseret unquam, nec lucidus ordo. *Hor.*

² Lib. 1.

³ Pelloutier, *Hist. des Celtes*, I. 30.

The Abbè Raynal observes, that after the revival of letters we began with *Eruditi*, next we had poets, then orators, then metaphysicians, then geometricians. If it were allowed, adds he, to hazard a prediction, I would announce that our minds will speedily be turned to history ; a vast career, and in which philosophy has hardly yet set a foot. This prediction is daily fulfilling in all countries : and beside other happy effects, is attended by this, that it has contributed to revive a genuine and dignified erudition, very different from the trifling sort at first in vogue. For it being impossible to throw philosophy into the history of any country, without carefully exploring the facts of that history ; and as impossible to know these facts without studying them in original authors ; a great degree of erudition has become necessary to this philosophy : and erudition and philosophy being thus conjoined, have increased the mental wealth of mankind to a great degree. The study of the Greek and Roman writers has become more manly and important ; and that of the authors of the middle ages, at first too much neglected, gains ground every day. Even a degree of what was called pedantry, by the pretended *beaux esprits*, has become admissible in treating ancient history ; because all see that it is better to shew too much learning upon such subjects, than too little. Indeed though pedantry be contemptible, because useless, in natural and moral philosophy, poetry, and other departments of genius, and science, yet in history it is even laudable, if it be not digressive. For history resting entirely on

facts, and authorities, it must have many references and quotations ; which, in any other science, form the essence of pedantic erudition.

These remarks are especially inserted for the use of my countrymen, who, as they can very seldom be accused of pedantry themselves, are very apt to accuse others of it. A book written in the manner of the Italian, French, German, and Scandinavian antiquaries, may perhaps startle them, not less by the perpetual quotations and references, than by the apparent novelty, but real antiquity, of the facts developed. They may perhaps say, that the author has come after many men of learning in this tract ; and yet modestly pretends to prove them all in the wrong, even in the most essential points of early Scottish history. This foreseen criticism must be warded off (*non ut arguerem, sed ne arguerer*) by a few remarks ; which, as they are of some delicacy, are written with deference, and it is hoped will be received with candour by every Scottishman, who, with the author, desires to be the FRIEND, and not the *flatterer*, of his country.

In all ages, since the invention of letters, two opposite literary paths have conducted to the temple of fame ; the path of GENIUS, and that of ERUDITION. They refer to the two faculties of the mind, imagination and memory ; as for judgment, the third, it is a judge, and not an agent ; and must direct the efforts of the two others. These qualities in a lesser degree, bear the names of *Ingenuity* and *Learning*. Every one, who has looked into literary history, must know that

erudition, or even learning, is perhaps a surer path to fame, than genius or ingenuity ; inasmuch as innumerable ancient works of mere learning have reached our times,¹ whereas not one of mere genius has had that fortune. For Homer, Pindar, and the other famous poets, were all men as remarkable for learning as for genius ; which qualities conjoined alone stamp perfection on a work. Homer's learning arose from travelling and conversation ; as Shakspeare's from books in his own language. Of all the ancient poets, that is, of those writers whose essential form is genius, it is impossible to point out one who was not profoundly learned, if we only except Anacreon, whose remains are so few, that we cannot judge of his learning from them. It is indeed as impossible to be a great writer without learning, as to be wealthy without property, or to unite any other contradiction in terms. Nay in modern times, men of vast erudition, and men of vast genius, have generally been contemporary in the same country ; as Shakspeare and Saville, Milton and Selden, in England ; Corneille and Salmasius in France ; Tasso and Sigonius in Italy ; Cervantes and Aldrete in Spain, &c.

Now by a misfortune, chiefly arising from the remote situation of the country, while Scotland has produced many ingenious writers, it is impossible to mention even one, who (not to speak of ERUDITION), can even bear the appellation of *learned*, as strictly understood in more favoured countries. To

¹ Gellius, Macrobius, Clemens Alex. Athenæus, Photius, Suidas, &c. &c. &c.

write elegant Latin, for which our Scottish authors of the two last centuries were famous, is a quality of ingenuity ; and is so far from belonging to learning, that it is inimical to it ; for the time, instead of being occupied in reading books, is employed in studying a language, a matter radically different. This we may judge of from facts ; for Poland, a country of ten times more population than Scotland, has not produced one learned writer, though the Latin histories of Dlugoss, Cromer, and Kobiersicky, are thought to vie with Livy, and Grotius has preferred Casimir to Horace.

This neglect of learning in Scotland, as it is the real and only cause of the ruin of our ancient history, deserves especially to be considered here ; and every true patriot would wish, if possible, to remove it. The writings of Volusenus or Wilson, Buchanan, and Barclay, are justly celebrated for elegance and ingenuity : but if we were to indicate any learned books, written by Scotchmen, it is believed the only ones that could possibly be named, are Dempster's notes on Rosinus, and his *Etruria Regalis*, and Blackwell's *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*.*

* The neglect of Greek learning is chiefly to be regretted in Scotland ; and it is a pity that the plan of Erasmus is not followed, and the Greek taught before the Latin in all countries. Five or six years for Latin, and one for Greek, is the common plan in Scottish schools. The reverse would be exactly right. There is an originality in the Greek writers which forms and nurtures genius ; the Latin only foster imitation. A divine, or a physician, ought to be grounded in Greek. A lawyer requires Latin, for there is not one Greek writer on law.

Yet even these would in Italy, France, or Germany, stand only among the books of common learning ; and are so far from being works of erudition, that, compared to those of eruditi of the first class, the Sigonii, Salmasii, Vossii, Grotii, Huetii, Scaligeri, they are but as drops of water to the ocean. Nor can one help expressing a wish that even that kind of erudition, which is now rather disregarded (though the fame of those eminent in it will last as long as books are read), had been exerted in Scotland in its period, as well as in other countries : for the passage from erudition to science is safe and easy ; while he who begins with science begins to build without materials.

Sir Isaac Newton being asked by what singular faculty he could make such great discoveries, answered, with all the modesty of genius, that he pretended to no faculties, but what were common ; and that the only source of his discoveries was PATIENT THINKING. This in fact will ever be the chief source of philosophical discoveries ; and the only source of literary discoveries is PATIENT READING. But the *præfervidum ingenium Scotorum*, as one of our own writers calls it, is so remarkable, that almost every battle we anciently fought against the English was lost by impatience, from the battle of the Standard to the battle of Dunbar. This chief feature of the national character is observable even in trifles, for in England two peasants will fight coolly, and then shake hands, while in Scotland such combats are always committed in grievous passion. In literature and philosophy the

same impatience prevails ; and the consequence is that we have not only never produced any man of erudition, but we have also had no INVENTOR, no man who has opened up a new path in science. We cannot boast like Denmark of a Tycho Brahe, nor like Sweden of a Linnæus, nor like Poland of a Copernicus.¹ By the same impatience of thought, and of labour, our writers of every class, though often ingenious and elegant in a supreme degree, have never yet attained the characters of great or sublime. We have no Bacon, no Newton, no Shakspeare, no Milton.

These remarks are given not to upbraid, but to admonish, and to serve. Remedies can never be found, till the disease be discovered : and it is no small part of the cure to know where the disease lies. Far less are they obtruded from a dictatorial spirit ; but they are humbly submitted to our literati of Scotland, among whom there are at present many whose abilities would do honour to any country ; and who more than compensate for any defect of learning, by superior good sense, elegant perspicuity, and industrious use of those materials which are necessary for the subjects of which they treat. To such the author considers himself as only a labourer, who is clearing away rubbish, and bringing materials ; and who may advise so far as concerns his own province.

—— fungar vice cotis, acutum

Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa fecandi.

¹ Napier has much merit, but cannot stand in the rank of great inventors. He is only an useful abbreviator of a particular branch of the mathematics.

On considering the causes of the neglect of learning in Scotland, they appear to be three. 1. Remote situation. 2. Want of wealth. 3. Want of public libraries. The distance of Scotland from Italy, France, and Germany, the most learned countries of Europe, is a great disadvantage in point of literary intercourse and emulation. Denmark and Sweden, from their proximity to Germany, have produced many writers of far greater learning than Scotland has ; a country pent up in a remote corner of an island, and to which few foreign books come, except the most light and superficial, which float on the breath of popular fame. Want of wealth (the consequence of want of industry) is a grand cause ; but which will be remedied as industry increases. They who have no money to buy books, cannot have them ; and it is observable that all the chief eruditi, of every country and age, have been men of property, and who could afford to purchase libraries. The only remedy for this is the institution of public libraries, containing books of high character for learning and utility, though never to be found in circulating libraries ; where indeed they cannot be expected, as very few read them. The institution of a public library, of the genuine kind, such as are common in Italy, France, and Germany, as they were in ancient Greece and Rome, though totally unknown in Britain, would do any patriot more honour, and would serve his country more, than the foundation of an university. In few countries are youth more curious in literature, than in Scotland ; but they want opportunities and choice. The study

of Bibliography, now carried to a great height in most countries, may indeed be pointed out as necessary even to our best authors, who, for want of it, often quote the worst writers upon subjects. When books are so numerous, the knowledge of the best in each class becomes necessary.

Such having been the state of learning in Scotland, it is no wonder that in antiquities, a subject absolutely dependent upon much reading, this defect should become the most apparent. Ingenious conjecture, and elegant manner, can never have any effect in illustrating antiquities, the very province of patient industry. The more ingenious an author is in such matters, he will only be the more in the wrong.¹ The exclamation of Montesquieu, in his letters, *Vous etes tous des charlatans, Messieurs les Antiquaires!* may be applied to those of Scotland with peculiar justice. The weakest writers in the country have generally assumed this province, which became them as well as if a mule should pretend to carry the tower of an elephant: while the best seem to despise the name and province of an antiquary, forgetful of the examples of Cato, Varro, Cæsar,² in ancient times, and of Luther, Melanchthon, Spelman, Selden, Du Cange,

¹ "We no longer study:" says Rousseau, "we no longer observe; we dream: and the dreams of some bad nights are given us gravely for philosophy."

² Cato's work on Roman origins is quoted by Dionysius Hal. Varro is well known. Julius Cæsar wrote *De vocum Mutatione*, &c. Melanchthon and Luther's works on German antiquities may be found in the first volume of the collection by Schardius, Basil. 1574, folio.

Leibnitz, Muratori, and many others, confessedly men of great talents, in modern. Montesquieu has examined the history of the two first races of France, preceding the tenth century, with an antiquarian care, which a Scottish writer of talents might think beneath him. *Homine imperito nihil est injustius*: this contempt, if real, is lamentable; as no science can be studied where it is despised. But, as Lord Bacon observes in his Essays, “Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise, or make light of, as impertinent, or curious; and so would have their ignorance seem judgment.” The uncertainty of antiquities is common to all human sciences; and strikes those the most who are the least versed in them, as objects at a distance become indistinct. Experience, and long examination of a subject, remove many uncertainties. But writers are apt to exhaust all their faith upon the object of their particular study, or favour; to believe perhaps that they know all the motives of human action in modern times, while they will not believe the actions themselves beyond a certain epoch. To him who looks with an equal eye upon science, the knowledge of a few ancient events, duly authenticated by ancient evidence, becomes at least as credible as that of the numerous modern events, with all their motives, causes, and circumstances, detailed by modern omniscient historians, sometimes not even versed in the language of the country, whose history they relate. To him whose belief depends upon his reason, the truth of ancient and of modern history will appear much the same; or he may be in-

clined to think the death of such an ancient king, in such a year, as credible at least as that such a modern event happened, occasioned by such causes, and attended by such circumstances, as a modern historian well knows, though quite unknown to the actors themselves.

The want of patience and industry in our Scottish antiquists, has only been equalled by their puerile prejudices, and contempt of truth. The author of this work thought it his duty to read them all repeatedly ; an attention which, excepting one or two, they did not deserve. Innes, in particular, is a valuable writer ; but to most of the others may be applied the French proverb, *De fol juge bref sentence* ; or the maxim of Rochefoucault, *Quand un opiniatre a commencé à contester quelque chose, son esprit se ferme à tout ce qui peut l'éclaircir. La contestation l'irrite, quelque juste qu'elle soit ; et il semble qu'il ait peur de trouver la vérité.* Neglecting those objects which do real credit to their country, they have loaded her with extraneous ornaments, till, like the Tarpeian virgin, she dies under the false honours. Their inexperience in such subjects has led them into trains of reasoning never used in antiquarian matters ; and they have what may be called *points of honour of Scotland*, quite unknown in more enlightened countries. Yet to these mock points of honour they will sacrifice the most evident truth, having, as Lord Bacon phrases, “an unconquerable appetite for falsehood and fable.”

¹ Il suffit de faire un retour sur son propre cœur, d'examiner avec quelle confiance on s'abandonne aux absurdités, au milieu desquel-

Some of them, as Maitland in particular, have even sat down to the sacred task of history, with all these prejudices around them ; but in the words of D'Alembert, *Ils écrivent l'Histoire, comme la plupart des hommes la lisent, pour n'être pas obligés de penser ; et se font ainsi auteurs à peu de frais.*

Quand nous fermons nos yeux à la clarté,
Pourquoi crier contre l'obscurité ?

Richardet.

Want of learning, which opens and enlarges the mind, is no doubt one great cause of these odd prejudices ; for, as an able writer² observes, “ The understanding is, among the illiterate, obsequious to passion and prepossession : and among them the imagination acts without controul, forming conclusions often no better than mere dreams.” The reader will excuse these quotations, as they not only express the sentiments in a manner not to be improved, but serve to protect an author in the invidious and painful office of finding faults.

Even in the strongest and most improved minds, prejudice has too much sway ; for it is impossible to examine every thing. Hence it is not surprising to find men of the greatest talents infected with the contagion of national prejudices. Voltaire has justly ob-

les on est né ; combien il en coûte à la raison pour déranger les habitudes qu'on a contractées. Quel doit donc être le sort des nations entières, qui sont emportées rapidement par le préjugé général, qui les gouverne ; et qui leur tient lieu de raison, de sagesse, et de réflexion ? *Mably de l'étude de l'Hist.* p. 141.

² Home Lord Kaimes, *Sketches of the History of Man*, III. 218. 8vo. edit.

served on this subject, that “Mankind are fonder of appearing to know, than of seeking after knowledge ; and when error has gotten the mastery of our minds, during our tender age, we are at no pains to shake off its yoke, but rather strive to subject ourselves more to it. Hence it comes that so many men of real discernment and genius are so frequently under the dominion of popular errors.”¹ We need not therefore be surprised to see popular prejudices, even in the best Scottish writers ; for, as has been remarked, we are reformed from popery, but not from Hector Boethius.²

The effects of ignorant prejudices have been heightened to a surprising degree, among our Scottish antiquists, by the spirit of controversy, so inimical to truth. The English and Irish writers, who first began to detect the errors into which we had fallen, and to shew the fallibility of Hector Boethius, were regarded as enemies of the honour of Scotland ; which, if we may credit our antiquists, stands upon falsehoods only. For these writers, instead of applauding the superior learning of an Usher and a Stillingfleet, provided a Sir George Mackenzie, king’s advocate for Scotland, to answer them ; and whose chief argument was, that it was high treason to doubt of the antiquity of the royal race of Scotland !³ This convincing proof of our antiquities was applauded ; and the author, instead of being ridiculed, was re-

¹ Hist. Gen.

² Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, in his Annals of Scotland.

³ Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland.

garded as a zealous friend of his country. This was the more remarkable, as Sir George pretended to be a Stoic philosopher ; but it is observable that, from Sir George to Lord Kaims, no Scottish philosopher has extended his philosophy to Scotland ; for which the reason may be found in the above observation of Voltaire. When such were the beginnings of the dispute with the English and Irish antiquaries, it is no wonder that the obstinacy and absurdity of our writers increased in the progress of the debate. They were so ignorant as not even to know that it is impossible to confute ancient authorities, upon no authorities at all ; that, as no historian had arisen in Scotland preceding Fordun, who is quite a modern, it was ridiculous to speak of opposing our writers to the English and Irish ; that all other countries allowed the authorities of neighbouring nations concerning their affairs ; and that, if we gave way to conjecture and erring ingenuity, there was an end of all history. *Nil sapientiae odiosius nimio acumine.* At the same time, it is much to be regretted, that the detection of our own errors did not, as in Denmark and Sweden, arise among ourselves ; but this must be imputed to our want of men of learning. The English and Irish antiquaries were far from being free of prejudice and enmity on their part : and it is not surprising that the truth became obnoxious to our warm writers. At length Innes, our own countryman, taking the true side, we have been gradually finding that truth is more for the honour of Scotland than falsehood. But our antiquists, driven from their

mock authorities, have been forced to another absurdity ; and to the genuine ancient authorities they oppose *opinions* ! This phænomenon in literature is only owing to the little learning we had gradually becoming less ; for, as Lord Kaims observes,¹ “ There cannot be opinion and science of the same thing at the same time.” Opinion is the last refuge of ignorance and prejudice ; and he who knows nothing of a subject can always give an opinion. The Spanish poet who was told of the certainty of the mathematics, answered, “ It may be so, but in my opinion they are quite fallacious.”

No axiom can be more certain than, that it is impossible for falsehood to honour a country, or to serve it. The Author of Nature, who has connected vital heat with the light of the sun, has connected the utility and glory of society with truth. A sceptic may say that the truth is not to be known ; and to him it shall only be answered, that history is a science, and must, like other sciences, have rules peculiar to it : of which the most essential is, that, when conformable to ancient authorities, it is to be regarded as true ; and, when not, as false. This is the grand, and only, distinction between history and romance. Falsehood is so far from honouring, or serving, any country, that it is disgraceful, and prejudicial, in a supreme degree. In history it makes even the true parts suspected ; so that a substance is lost by grasping at a shadow : and a train of writers supporting it

¹ Sketches, III. 394.

in a nation will, in course of time, injure even the character of that nation ; an effect so ruinous, that he who writes on the history of his country, ought to consult conscience as well as science. If he indulges the *insanos oculos et gaudia vana*, at the expence of plain truth, instead of being the friend of his country, he is in effect the worst enemy possible. Like a base flatterer, his praise poisons, his deceit ruins.

As prejudice is irrational, so the honours it invents are irrational. The honour of a nation depends on its arms and arts, on its industry, on the merit of its natives, and on the character it bears among its neighbours : which last can never be so effectually injured as by false history. But the Scottish antiquists rashly assume the most ludicrous topics, as foundations of national honour ; forgetting Mr Hume's remark, that " There is not a more effectual method of betraying a cause, than to lay the stress of the argument on a wrong place ; and, by disputing an untenable post, inure the adversaries to success and victory." Thus we have seen the antiquity of our royal line, and the old league with France, maintained as the points of national honour. A Greek or Roman would hardly have boasted how long they had submitted to one line of kings ; or have dreamed that their nation could possibly acquire any honour from another. It is likely that the poems of Ossian, or an old shoe of Queen Mary, may form our next points of honour ; and that it may be long before our antiquists discover, that our honour is very safe, if they would let it alone. A great nation never speaks of

its honour, because it despises even the suspicion of its needing a defence : but, as Algarotti remarks,¹ *Gli scioli, o vogliam dir coloro che sono dotti per meta, veggono ancora le cose per meta ; e ne formano i piu manchevoli e distorti giudizi.*

In history it is not allowable for any writer to be an advocate. He ought to be a judge. To gain a cause against truth, by dint of eloquence and art, is common ; but in the court of history it is execrable. It is inconceivable that so many writers, on such subjects, should seem to think that their business is not to find the truth, but to defend one opinion against another. Hence we find artful elocution, where we should have nothing but simple veracity.

The author, conscious that he has no opinions to defend, but that he has embraced what, to his best judgment and examination, appeared to be the truth, on whatever side he found it, has employed no art to win the reader to his sentiments. On the contrary, his manner is generally so dry, and sometimes so severe, that if the reader finds no conviction in the authorities and arguments, he will never be subdued by the pomp of declamation, or allured by the arts of eloquence. If he be convinced, he is convinced by the force of truth only. In perhaps a dozen passages of this long work, the reader may, as is not unlikely, even recoil at the rigour, with which some former writers and opinions are treated. Of such passages the author is as sensible as the reader : but as he

¹ Pensieri diversi.

knows and feels their justice, he has reviewed them often without either deletion or mitigation. As he always wishes to avoid giving offence, so he never fears to give it, when truth directs the weapon. Indignation belongs to virtue, and to science also : and is to be exerted against falsehood and prejudice, as well as against vice. Before the reader can properly judge of these passages, he must read the authors against whom they are directed. If he finds them modest and veracious, let the blame fall on the unjust anger of the present writer : but if they be found to be dealers in direct falsehoods, and replete with impudent railing against the truth, let it be considered if such have an exclusive privilege of being angry. The author has been forced, now and then, to meet them on their own ground ; and deserves pity, rather than blame, for that necessity : which has indeed disgusted him so far, that he has resolved to abandon the controversial style for ever, and to content himself, in future, in exploring and vindicating the truth, without arraigning its enemies. But nothing has obscured the subject of the present work more than the railing, pride, anger, and false assertions of some former writers on it. “ Now in such a case, even a wise and modest man may assume airs too ; and repel insolence with its own weapons. There is a time, as Solomon the wisest of men teaches us, when ‘ a fool should be answered according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit ;’ and lest others too easily yield up their faith and reason to his imperious dic-

tates.”¹ The rule of Polybius is admirable; “They who in history relate falsehoods from ignorance, deserve pardon and benevolent correction: but they who designedly commit falsehoods, are to be condemned without mercy.”²

This work is, however, far less employed in demolishing falsehood, than in establishing truth. To prove the fallacy of the received history of Scotland, preceding the year 1056, would have been an easy task by itself; but to find the true history of that period was difficult. Indolence might easily have sat down with the impression, that, as the received history was false, it was impossible to find the true; and so Scotland might have passed without any history at all preceding the year 1056; though every other country can begin its history at the time it was converted to Christianity, and Scotland was in the fifth and sixth centuries. Nothing indeed could be more absurd, than to suppose that a country adjacent to England, and near Ireland, countries that produced many men of letters in the middle ages, should have no history till the eleventh century; when even Iceland begins in the ninth. Nothing more absurd than to suppose that a country, which has historical remains of the eleventh century itself, containing brief abstracts of its history preceding that time, should have no history but from the eleventh century. The English

¹ Watts's Improvement of the Mind.

² Lib. xii. A remark of Voltaire is also applicable: “Il y a des erreurs qu'il faut refuter serieusement; des absurdités dont il faut rire; et des faussetés qu'il faut repousser avec force.”

and Irish historians, and our own fragments published by Innes, indeed amply confute received notions ; so that prejudice, as well as indolence, may conspire in this disgraceful abbreviation of our history. Our antiquists thus resemble the ostrich : they hide their heads, and think nobody sees them. But the fact is, as the reader will find fully displayed in this work, that the indolence is contemptible, and the prejudice irrational : for it so happens that the real history of Scotland is far more honourable and interesting, than the fabricated scheme now followed is ; even supposing, for a moment, the latter to be true. Had the real history of the country been disgraceful to the highest degree, still it ought to have been given with the most scrupulous faith ; as Rome does not conceal her descent from banditti. But when the real history is far more interesting, as well as more honourable, than the false, we must from this instance alone conclude that prejudice perverts every power of judgment ; or that the fact is that indolent ignorance prevents the exertion of judgment, by withholding the materials.

*Deh che non puo l'eredita comune,
L' ignoranza, nel petto de' mortali !*

The reader may perhaps find some matters in this work, which may contradict his prejudices ; but if he will suspend his judgment till he has perused the whole, he will find that, by dint of mere industry, for every forged medal which is withdrawn from the cabinet of Scottish history, two real ones are put in. An historian ought to belong to no country ; and in this

work the author has laboured to forget that he is a Scotishman, though a name he glories in ; so that it is hoped no part of this work can fear the accusation of prejudice, when examined by a native of any country in Europe. But far less is he prejudiced against his country ; and the freedom with which he treats the history of all surrounding kingdoms, may warrant him from any such imputation. It was said of Thucydides, that from his history it could not be known whether he belonged to Athens or Sparta ; and it is hoped the national bias of this work is not very strong. The vulgar passion for one's country is a mere modification of self-love ; but the real patriot wishes to promote the genuine welfare of his country, not to feed his own little vanity ; and that welfare is best promoted by pointing out faults that they may be amended. To praise one's country is to praise one's self ; and Europe is now so civilized, that the voice of strangers is the surest estimate of a country's fame.

One grand cause of the neglect of Scotish history is the absurd idea, which many among us have, of the nature of the original historians of other countries. The little chronicles, published by Innes, are as full as several other nations can boast of for their earliest history. Even Spain has only the chronicles of Isidorus and John of Bicclair ; which are shorter and not larger than ours. The original chronicles of Denmark are exactly of the same brief kind, as may be seen in the first volume of Langebek's Collection. But our writers seem ludicrously to expect that Scot-

land should vie with Italy, France, Germany, or England, in early historians. Such ignorance is only excusable in a people shut up in a corner of an island; and incapable of comparing themselves with others. Ignorance always begets pride: but Denmark might as well compare herself with Germany; or Switzerland with Italy; as Scotland with England. In the grand commonwealth of Europe it is now perfectly understood that Scotland is the poorest state, and England one of the richest. Denmark and Sweden have, each of them, double the wealth, power, and population, that Scotland has, or ever had. Even Norway is remarkable for her conquests, and colonies, celebrated all over Europe; while Scotland is only distinguished in defensive war. But our writers absurdly expect advantages, which nature has denied; as if flattery could make a mountainous country populous and fertile; or turn a remote corner round to the centre of civilization! As they see no country but England, they facetiously suppose that, because England has many ancient writers, Scotland must also have had, though now lost. Hence the story of chronicles destroyed by Edward I. while it ought first to have been proved that such chronicles ever existed.^{*} Certain it is that, if they had, their memory could not have perished with them; but as not one can be indicated, there is reason to infer that they

^{*} This opinion, however, is as old as the fifteenth century. See Innes, p. 555. But it only arose from national enmity, and is confutable from the lists of the writings which Edward seized being preserved in the Tower, and published by Ayloffe, &c.

did not exist. And in fact the pieces published by Innes, written in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the Chronicle of Melrose in the thirteenth, present a series of original history, equal to any that could reasonably be expected, for a country so remote, and so lately civilized. Our writers would do well to look into the original historians of other nations. They will find that Ireland has only Tighernach, who wrote in 1088 : Denmark only such brief chronicles as ours, prior to that miracle, Saxo Grammaticus, a classic writer in 1180 : Sweden no native writer, till the fourteenth century, when a chronicle in rime, like our Winton's, was written : Norway the brief chronicle of Theodoric the monk, written about 1178. Bohemia has only Cosmas of Prague, 1126 : Prussia, Helmoldus 1180 : Poland, Kadlubko 1223 : and the earliest historian of Russia is Nestor, 1115. Nay some more southern countries have as few and as late historians. The Low Countries, that garden of Europe, can boast of none till the 15th century. Spain has, after Isidorus and John of Bicclair, in the 7th century, only the chronicles of the four bishops written in the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, and published by Sandoval at Pampelona, 1634, folio. Roderic of Toledo, the first Spanish general historian, wrote in 1243.¹ On a fair comparison, Scotland has at least as many historical pieces extant as fall to her

¹ Of the original historians of all nations, it must be confessed that Fordun is by far the most prolix, and the weakest in every view.

share: and if Edward I. adopted the new and wild scheme of destroying her chronicles, he must have done it to little purpose.

But a peculiar glory which distinguishes the history of Scotland, from that of other northern kingdoms, is, that the earliest period of it stands on Greek and Roman authorities. Another advantage is, that the next period is confirmed by the testimonies of English and Irish writers. Among the latter Adomnan has given us the life of St Columba, the chief apostle of North Britain, written about the year 680; one of the most curious monuments of the literature of that age. It is certainly the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but even through the whole middle ages. The lives of saints, formerly only considered in a religious view, now begin to be regarded in an historical light, by most countries, whether papist or protestant. Du Chesne, in his Collection of French Historians, gave extracts of the old lives of saints; an example followed in Bouquet's late celebrated work of the same kind. Langebek, in his Collection of Danish Historians, follows the same plan; and the Life of St Amsgar, 820, is to Scandinavia, what that of St Columba is to Scotland. Our antiquists, with all the pride of ignorance, may perhaps affect to despise monuments which, historically considered, have received the sanction of Montesquieu and Gibbon. But the falsehood of the miracles no more affects the historical and topographic parts, than the miracles of Livy and Tacitus discredit their

history. Not to insist on a matter now so well known to the learned, as the value of these old lives, in the history of the middle ages, it shall be further observed, that many of them are well written; and are curious monuments, not only of the literature, but of the manners of the times. Sulpitius Severus set the example of them in his life of St Martin, written in the fifth century: and, for five or six centuries, his example was followed in all countries by the most able writers of each age. But after that period, instead of contemporary writers of only one life, compilers began to appear, who altered the old writings to their fancy, and produced monstrous romances; as the Golden Legend, written in the thirteenth century, and others of that stamp. Romances being then the fashion, saints and knights-errant went hand in hand through the regions of absurdity. As literature revived, both fell together. But the genuine old lives of saints began to be recovered in a pious view; and Mombricius, in 1480, set the first example of a legitimate collection of this kind, followed by Lippomanus and by Surius about 1560; and in the next century by the famous Bollandists,¹ whose work from 1643 to 1786 fills fifty folio volumes; and still the saints of November and December are wanting, which will take ten volumes more.

In digesting this work, the author has been care-

¹ So called because Bollandus began this great collection, which was continued by Henschenius, Papebroch, Sollerius, Cuper, Hilt-
ing, and many others.

ful to admit no authority, nor argument, but such as would be allowed valid, if applied to the history of any country whatever. Yet to some the novelty, which it contains, may appear suspicious. To such it can only be answered that, if the original authorities, and real history, of any country have been neglected for late fables, the truth which is very old, must appear very new, when revived. The truth is always old, though the discovery may be new. Montesquieu observes, when illustrating French antiquities, *Je sais bien que je dis ici des choses nouvelles : mais, si elles sont vraies, elles sont tres anciennes.* As Ireland's claim to the *Scotia* and *Scoti*, preceding the eleventh century, has been long allowed and established among the literati of all countries,¹ and Scotland must have had some name, and some inhabitants, before that period, it became necessary to discover what they were. Our writers seemed to shrink from the enquiry ; none of them, in the words of Homer,

—— ΠΥΚΙΝΗΝ ηγήυετο βουλην.

The author has attempted to settle this affair ; and to redeem the early history of his country from total annihilation. Regret at his own ignorance in the matter,¹ was indeed one great spur to the design.

¹ His ignorance was such that, in the dissertations prefixed to *Select Scottish Ballads*, written 1776, and first printed at London, 1781, he rather asserts the authenticity of Ossian. And in the *Essay on the Origin of Scottish Poetry*, prefixed to *Ancient Scottish Poems* from the Maitland MS. written 1784, published 1786, there

Truth may appear singular to those who are accustomed to falsehood. But, as a more contemptible character cannot exist, than his who would sacrifice truth and science to a silly love of singularity, so no man ought to fear the charge of singularity, when asserting the cause of truth. Mankind can never be served with impunity ; and the charge of singularity has at first lain against every man, who has advanced the progress of any science. Torfæus was persecuted by his contemporaries for reforming the fables of Saxo, who had taken kings of Jutland, Sweden, Russia, for Danish sovereigns. In the next generation, prejudice, envy, and malice were chained to his tomb, and the voice of fame followed the light of truth.

Omnia subsident meliori pervia causæ.

Before this preface be closed, the reader must be informed, that it is the author's intention to give a regular history of Scotland from the earliest accounts till the reign of Mary, in two volumes, quarto, divided into forty books.* But as he wished to exert the utmost care in this work, he was induced to publish

are several opinions which a full and complete examination of all the evidences of early Scottish History, has forced him to condemn in the present work. But the reader, upon recourse to these former productions, will acquit the author of prejudice; and see the truth, which is, that he has conquered his own prejudice. He hopes he may say with Baldus, "*Ignorantiæ inimicus alienæ, INIMICISSIMUS SUÆ, paratus corrigi a quocunque, et correctiones patiens libenti et humili animo, quia ignorare non est vitium, sed natura.*"

* He found a sufficient labour in that of the House of Stuart, 2 vols 4to.

this Enquiry into the obscure and controverted period of Scottish history, in the first place, that he might hear the opinion of the learned, and correct his mistakes before they passed into a more solemn work. As the nature of history rejects controversy, and implies a dignified narration of events, not as told in different ways, but as they really happened to the best of the historian's examination, it seemed also necessary, by a previous work, to remove all occasion of controversy from the history itself; as the reader, by one reference to this work, may examine the whole reasons for the historical narration at his leisure, if he sees fit. This proposed history will be a work of years; and in the mean time the author will be happy to attend to any strictures on the present work; and either to confirm his sentiments, where he may still think them just, or to retract them where erroneous. He knows he has still much to learn; and is resolved never to lock up the little casket of his knowledge, but to keep it open for fresh accessions from all quarters.

The reader is intreated to pardon a verbal remark, before proceeding to the work. He will find in it the people called *Picti* by the Romans, always denominated *Piks*, and not *Picts* as usual. Reasons for this little change were, that the Latin term *Picti*, too nearly translated *Picts*, has a double meaning, which has given rise to a great error; to wit, that the name of this people is not indigenal, but a mere Latin epithet, from their painting themselves. Whereas it is merely an indigenal name, *Pihtar*, latinized. The

Saxon writers call them *Pihtas*, *Pyhtas*, *Pehtas*, *Peoh-tas*; the old Scottish, and the people of Scotland, to this day, *Pihts* or *Pehts*. The *ht* being harsh, the Romans gave for it *ct*, the Greeks more anciently *k*;¹ as the Norwegians term the country, whence they apparently passed to Scotland, *Pika*. And the Latin name has no more a Latin meaning, than *Galli* means cocks, or *Germani* brothers german. To mark the name as indigenal, and foreign to the Latin language, it was thought best to write it *Piks*; a change which it is hoped the reader will excuse, if not approve. The name *Picts* is in fact quite a modern term, not much above a century old; and the fault lies with those who introduced this new and improper way of spelling, and not with the author, who only softens the term used even in the sixteenth century, namely, *Pihts*. In Icelandic, the old language of Scandinavia, whence this people came, the singular is *Piki*, a *Pik*, the plural *Pikir* *Piks*; as *Griki* is a Greek, *Griki* Greeks.

The Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths, which was published near two years ago, was originally intended as part of this work, as the reader will find on looking into it. But as many readers may not perhaps chuse to begin their perusal of this publication, from such remote periods; though it be impossible duly to understand the early population of Scotland, without knowing the state of nations on the continent, at the time; that Disserta-

¹ See Dissertation annexed; and Part III. ch. iii. &c. of this work.

tion is annexed to the second volume. It is left to the reader, either to begin with that Dissertation, or to peruse it after his curiosity may have been excited, by the references, which point out its connection with our own history.

This preface ought to be closed with acknowledgements to many literati of different countries, to whom the author is obliged for articles of information. But the articles were sometimes of necessity so minute, and the correspondence so various, that to enumerate them all might appear ostentation, and omissions seem ingratitude. General thanks must therefore suffice; except to one, whose politeness was altogether singular, and can never be too warmly acknowledged. M. VAN PRAET, of the king's library at Paris, with his own hand copied, and collated with Innes's Appendix, the parts of the remarkable manuscript N^o 4126, which relate to Scotland, and which the reader will find in the Appendix to this first volume. For this laborious task he would accept of no gratification, but only desired that this work should be given to that truly Royal Library.

INTRODUCTION,

*Containing a succinct View of what has been done in
Scottish Antiquities.*

TILL the beginning of this century the study of antiquities, far from making any progress in Scotland, was hardly known in that country. Italy, Spain, France, Germany, had produced eminent antiquaries in the sixteenth century : and in the next, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, could boast of several. Remote situation, and the consequent want of emulation ; penury, and the consequent want of books and learned leisure ; were causes that long checked the birth and growth of this, as well as of the other sciences, in Scotland. The strange spirit of fanaticism, which in the seventeenth century pervaded the country, was another grand cause of the neglect of literature ; for every study, not relating to religion, was regarded as superfluous, if not profane : but this secondary cause also originated from penury, as they who are miserable in this life naturally turn all their views to another ; and it will be difficult to name a happy and flourishing country, in which fa-

naticism makes any progress. England was in the horrors of civil war before fanaticism prevailed; and the most fanatic religion, the Mahometan, originated in the deserts of Arabia. Spain, at present one of the poorest countries, is also one of the most fanatic. It seems certain that the chief fountain of the great deficiency in Scottish literature, during the last century, proceeded from the religious ferment, which pervaded all ranks, and induced a contempt and neglect of every art and science.

Nevertheless two men arose who paid some attention to the antiquities of their country.¹ The first was Sir ROBERT GORDON of Straloch, who, about the year 1650, wrote some scraps on our antiquities, preserved in the noble *Atlas Scotiæ*, begun at the expence of Sir JOHN SCOTT of Scotstarvet, director of the chancery, and published by Blauw at Amsterdam. There is also a curious letter on our historians, writ-

¹ In the sixteenth century Major, Boyce, Lesly, and Buchanan, are well known; Lluyd, a Welchman, attacked Boyce's fables, and Camden gave his short description of Scotland. But the history of the Abbots of Kinloss by Ferrerius remains unpublished.

In the next, or seventeenth century, several treatises on Scottish antiquities were written by Drummond, Crawford, David Buchanan, David Hume, Sir James Balfour, Sir Robert Sibbald, &c. and though they all follow the fabulous scheme of our history, a publication of the best would be acceptable. Dempster is the most noted writer of the early part of this century. His *Menologium Sanctorum Scotorum* was printed 1619, prohibited 1626, for its gross falsehoods; published 1627, with a new title, *Historia Ecclesiastica Scotorum*; and again under the name of David Camerarius *De statu hominis, veteris simul et novæ ecclesie, et sanctis regni Scotiæ*. *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 68, 69.

ten by Sir R. Gordon to David Buchanan, 1649, often quoted by Nicolson, in his *Scotish Historical Library*; and published by Hearne in the *Prolegomena* to Leland's *Collectanea*. From this letter it appears that Gordon had a due contempt for the fables of Boyce and Buchanan, then generally received among his countrymen, a circumstance which says much for his sagacity and candour.

The next writer was Sir ROBERT SIBBALD, whose works appeared from 1680 till 1700; and who had the true spirit and industry of an antiquary, though no great sagacity nor abilities. Many of his works are in print, and are curious, and sometimes valuable. The collections he formed in his library of various MSS. concerning *Scotish antiquities*, written by himself and others, were sufficient to procure him the just fame of an antiquary. These MSS. are now in the Advocates' library, Edinburgh; and a publication of the best of them would be very acceptable.¹

During the same period the ancient history of Scotland (the chief object of an antiquary), which had hitherto been suffered to remain as Fordun, Boyce, and Buchanan, had thought proper to forge it, began for the first time to incur critical examination. Sir Robert Gordon had expressed doubts and disbelief; but unhappily did not publish a special work on the

¹ A collection of the best MS. treatises relating to *Scotish Antiquities*, and the rarest of such as are printed, would form a valuable publication. The collections of Grævius and Gronovius, relating to Greek and Roman antiquities, afford a model; but two or three volumes folio might contain all the *Scotish*.

subject. Sibbald, in his History of Fife, also differed from received fables, in supposing the Picts not extirpated, but really the Lowlanders, and their language the Lowlandish. Yet it so happened that the English writers, who had just begun to reject the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth, now had occasion to criticise the Scottish fables. Usher indeed, in his Antiquities of the British Churches, published in 1639, had led the way; but the civil commotions that followed, prevented any attention being paid to such subjects. Now that quiet prevailed, the revival of his arguments by Bishops Lloyd and Stillingfleet, and the publication of O'Flaherty's Ogygia in 1685, raised a strange flame among the Scottish writers. National enmity, and prejudice, made truths very unacceptable, which, if they had originated among themselves, would at least have been more gracious; though the first reception of truth, when opposed to ancient prejudices, in all ages and countries, has never been favourable. Sir George Mackenzie, king's advocate for Scotland, in an odd fit of scribbling chivalry, thought it a duty of his office to defend the enchanted castle of old fable; and with the assistance of Sir Robert Sibbald, and Sir James Dalrymple, published his Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland, in two parts, 1685, 1686; afterward translated into Latin, and published together in Holland. This book, founded on a strange idea that the honour of Scotland depended on the antiquity of its royal line, may be regarded as an omen in what manner Scottish antiquities were to be treated, in contra-

distinction to those of other countries. Instead of solid facts, founded on ancient authorities, which constitute the sole difference between history and romance, it contains arguments of absurd ingenuity, supported by the most trifling and puerile reading, with here and there a cunning quibble. Sir George seems incapable of that common degree of candour, which supposes it possible that the truth may be on the other side ; and he argues as an advocate for a cause, not as a philosopher who wishes only to find out where the truth lies. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*, was a maxim unknown to this writer : and the brevity of his trifling tracts might have stared him in the face, with the old adage, *Qui pauca considerat, de facili pronunciat*.

However, a ferment of doubt was now thrown into the ancient history of Scotland, which was in time to make it run off clearer and clearer, while the dregs of fable sunk to the bottom. And the eighteenth century, as glorious for Scottish literature, as the preceding one had been adverse, was to throw all possible light on our ancient history. Here then a more regular and ample account shall begin.

1702,

NICOLSON'S Scottish Historical Library appeared ; and was a most useful work to shew us what had been done for our history, and to encourage us to new efforts.' The rest of this Introduction may be re-

¹ This work is not, however, without gross mistakes, such as his confounding St Columba with St Columban ; his putting David

garded as a Supplement to that work, which, though published twice since in folio and quarto, with his English and Irish Libraries, has no additions.

1705,

SIR JAMES DALRYMPLE'S Collections concerning Scottish History preceding the year 1153, appeared. A modest, useful, industrious writer, though a poor antiquary. His plan is rather confused, and his manner indistinct. In his violent presbyterianism he wishes to prove that no bishops appeared in Scotland till the eleventh century, and that the Culdees were Presbyterians. Mr Gibbon observes that the ancient Christians were as little Protestants as they were Papists; and it may be here remarked, that the Culdees were as little Presbyterians, as they were Hierarchists. They elected bishops among themselves; but a bishop of the Culdees was neither a Presbyter, nor a bishop in the modern sense. It is one great task of an antiquary to separate ideas from words.

In the same year was published ANDERSON'S Essay on the Independency of Scotland, a laudable work for the time.

In the same year appeared at Paris, KENNEDY'S Chronological, Genealogical, and Historical Dissertation on the Royal Family of the Stuarts. This little work, by an Irish writer, contains all that part of the fabulous history of Ireland, which relates to

Hume's History of Scotland, Edin. 1617, London, 1657, as a different work from his History of the House of Douglas and Angus, while it is the same work with a wrong title, &c.

the ancestors of Fergus I. and is a good abridgment. But the author's idea, that the Scottish Royal Line sprung from the Irish, is confuted in this Enquiry.

1708,

Dr MACKENZIE's *Lives of the Scottish Writers*, vol. I. was published, and was proposed to be completed in another volume. But the author's avarice led him to swell his work to two volumes more ; and a fourth was still wanting to complete it. The first volume, which goes down to the year 1500, is by far the best ; but has numerous *Scoti* of Ireland, who wrote many centuries before Scotland could boast of any writer, having not one native author till the thirteenth century, as Denmark has none till the twelfth, nor Sweden till the fourteenth. The whole work is remarkably dull, erroneous, and ill-written, but has some good materials. In the preface to vol. I. the idea was started, that the Scots had proceeded to Ireland from North Britain, instead of the contrary, as all our former writers bore.

1711,

ABERCROMBIE's *Martial Atchievements of the Scottish Nation* were printed, in two volumes *folio*. A new edition was lately given in octavo. This work is full of gross fables, and bitter railing against the Irish writers. In the second volume, the use of Rymer's *Fœdera* enabled the author to illustrate some points in our genuine history.

1712.

Was published *A Genealogical Account of the Name of Stuart, &c.* “being the long-expected work of that great antiquary David Symson, M. A. Historiographer Royal for Scotland.” 8vo.

Parturiunt montes, et nascitur ridiculus mus.

If this *Great* antiquary had gone to Germany, he would have been sent to school : if even to Iceland, Torfæus would have swallowed him at one mouthful, without salt.

After this great effort there seems to have been a pause.

1723,

HAY’S *Vindication of Elizabeth More* (and of the Scottish royal line) appeared. This work contains several curious ancient charters.

In the same year was printed at Glasgow, in 4to, BUCHANAN’S *Brief Enquiry into the Genealogy, and present State, of Ancient Scottish Surnames.*

1726,

CRAWFORD’S *Lives of the Officers of State in Scotland*, was published in folio. A work of labour and merit.

1727.

GORDON’S *Itinerarium Septentrionale, or Journey through the North of England, and through Scotland*, appeared. A very laudable work, had not the author added his dreams concerning Scottish origins ; of which he knew just as much as he did concerning school divinity.

In the same year SCOTT'S History of Scotland was published in folio. A weak work of no name.

1729,

INNES'S invaluable Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, &c. appeared, in two volumes 4to and 8vo. This work forms a grand epoch in our antiquities; and was the first that led the way to rational criticism on them. It is not however without faults; of which a radical one is the imagination that the Picts were of one race with the Welch, and used the Welch language; in which the author was misled by Camden, and by Lloyd. Another gross fault is his wasting 150 pages upon the controversy concerning Mary, Buchanan's principles, &c. from p. 255 of vol. I. to the end. This was foreign to his work, and distracting to the reader by loading difficult subjects with another extraneous difficult one. It was also written "in a very great hurry to keep pace with the press," as he tells us, preface p. xxxiv. and smells of that hurry. It is really surprising that so judicious and cool a writer could have been so absurd, as to load his work with such stuff. His manner of division into books, chapters, and articles, sections, and dissertations, is also obscure and indistinct.

His greatest merit lies in publishing the old chronicles, and other remains of our history. But he is not very accurate, as the reader will find in the collation of his edition with the originals, at the end of this volume. However his industry, coolness, judgment, and general accuracy, recommend him as the

best antiquary that Scotland has yet produced. He was indeed educated in the French school, being a priest of the Scottish college at Paris.

From p. 725, 728, 760, it appears that he intended a second part, concerning the Ecclesiastic History of Scotland. Though it may easily be seen to what side he would incline, yet there is great room to regret that he did not publish this second part: and that in the first, though he gives a chronology of the Pictish kings to the year 843, yet he goes no lower than Fergus I. 503. The main part of his work is occupied in shewing that the Old Scots did not come to Britain, till the third century, and had no kings till Fergus, A. D. 503. His long account of the Scottish historians is exact, curious, and interesting.¹

1738,

MALCOM, a clergyman, published his *Dissertations on the Celtic Language*, 8vo. the first work which had appeared in Scotland upon that subject; which afterward slept, till Ossian had the happy effect to awaken public curiosity.

1739,

ANDERSON'S magnificent work, the *Diplomata et*

¹ A weak pamphlet in answer to Innes was published at Edin. 1733, 4to, pp. 32; and one Tait wrote another in 12mo, Edin. 1741, pp. 20. The last led the way to Goodal's dream that Strabo's *Ierne* was Scotland. Such trifling publications it is not the author's purpose to detail. "Persequi quidem quod quisque unquam, vel contemtissimorum hominum, dixerit, aut nimiae miseriæ, aut inanis jactantiæ est: et detinet atque obruit ingenia, melius aliis vacatura." —Quintilian.

Numismata Scotiæ appeared; a publication never to be transcended in elegance, and scarcely in exactness. The learned and modest RUDDIMAN prefixed an able introduction. This work does more real honour to Scotland, than the dreams of an hundred antiquists. Unhappily some of the plates cannot be found for a new edition proposed.

1747,

RUDDIMAN'S Answer to Logan on the Constitution of Scotland was published, with a frontispiece by Strange, being his first engraving, as is said. This work is of course warm; but his antagonist palpably so weak and illiterate, that half the force Ruddiman exerts might have crushed him. This writer, accustomed to accuracy, approves of Innes's work, and frequently repeats his disbelief of our old fables.

1749,

DUFF'S History of Scotland appeared in folio. It is a weak work, extending from Robert I. to James VI.

1755,

KEITH'S Catalogue of Scottish Bishops was published in 4to. A laudable work, had not the author been too violent. As prejudices rest on fables, it is no wonder that he is angry with Ireland, and will have all *Scoti* to be of North Britain. He should have known better; but prejudice, joined with a plentiful lack of learning, is invincible.

1757,
MAITLAND'S History of Scotland was printed at London, in two folio volumes. Another violent writer, who displays the grossest prejudices in favour of many of the ancient Scottish fables, and against the progress of historical truth in his native country. He is a bitter enemy of Innes, of Ireland, of the Pikes, and of himself. He however abandons the kings prior to Fergus, whose reign he dates 403, by a blunder of a century. But who shall blame him; for what did he know of the matter? His remarks on Roman antiquities in Scotland, which he inspected himself, are curious; but the rest of his work confused, illiterate, inaccurate, and deficient in common information.

The second volume, extending from James II. of Scotland to modern times, was written by Dr Granger, the author of the Sugar-cane, a poem; and though diffuse, and feeble, is far superior in merit to the first.

1759,
GOODAL published his edition of Fordun, in two volumes folio. A laudable work; but his introduction is another violent piece, fraught with contemptible scurrility, low prejudice, small reading, and gross error. He talks like a master, where he is not even a scholar; and dreams he knows every thing, where he knows nothing. The contrast between Ruddiman's merit and modesty, and Goodal's ignorance and impudence, is very striking.

1762,

Mr JAMES MACPHERSON, in the prefaces to his *Osian*, began to reveal sundry novelties concerning Scottish history. He however applauds Innes, and consents that Fergus, son of Erc, was the first king, as the ancient fables were inimical to king Fingal. The praise of great genius, and of giving rise to the study of the Celtic tongues, both in Scotland and Ireland, might have screened him from censure, had not his "Introduction," after-mentioned, been as much fraught with falsehood and fable, as his Erse poems.

1766,

Mr O'CONOR's *Dissertations on the History of Ireland* were published at Dublin: at the end is, "A Dissertation on the first Migration and final Settlement of the Scots in North Britain, with occasional Observations on the Poems of Fingal and Temora."

1767,

GUTHRIE's *History of Scotland* appeared, the best of the modern, in ten volumes 8vo. But is a mere money-job, hasty, and inaccurate.

1768,

Dr JOHN MACPHERSON's *Dissertations on the Caledonians* appeared in quarto, with a preface by Mr James Macpherson the editor.

Quinti progenies Arrî, par nobile fratrum

Nequitia et nugis, pravorum et amore gemellum;

Luscinias soliti impenso prandere coemptas;

Quorsum abeant sani? creta an carbone notandi? *Hor.*

Dr Macpherson's book was written in the Hebudes, and his library was evidently very small. Yet he seems never to have suspected that he was painting without colours, or writing upon a subject of which it required ten times his reading, even to form a conception. His total ignorance of the literature of the middle ages, of Norwegian manners and customs, which he takes for Druidic forsooth, of the origins of nations and of languages, and of the materials absolutely requisite for his undertaking, serves to lessen our wonder at his prejudices. Living among the Highlanders, though himself surely of Lowland or Norwegian extract,* he takes up a gratuitous idea, that the Highlanders are the ancient Caledonians, though he confesses that they regard themselves as of Irish extraction; and supports his opinion by such arguments, as, if used on any other subject, might be accused of sheer puerility. His etymological nonsense he assists with gross falsehoods; and pretends to skill in the Celtic, without quoting one single MS.; in short, he deals wholly in assertion and opinion; and it is clear that he had not even an idea what learning and science are. He might, with as just a title, have written upon medicine, or navigation, as upon antiquities: for any one may give assertions and opinions upon any subject. To what purpose served his skill in the Celtic, so highly vaunted by the editor? Does he quote one MS. through his whole work? A Laplander, who should pretend to treat of the origin of the Scandina-

* Macpherson, it is perfectly known, means the son of the *parson*, and it is probable that only the Lowland priests who were sent to the Highlands, were called *parsons*, a Lowland term.

vians, because he knew the Laplandic language, would be laughed at.

1772,

Mr JAMES MACPHERSON condescended to honour the public with his Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland; compared with which work Dr Macpherson's is modest and laudable. The empty vanity, shallow reading, vague assertion, and etymological nonsense of this production, are truly risible,—

None but itself can be its parallel.

Its author, not knowing the difference between science and opinion, history and romance, has ventured on quite a new path, and speaks of *confuting* ancient authorities! He boasts of skill in the Celtic, yet quotes not one MS. and seems resolved to set every law of common science, and common understanding, at defiance. For fact we have frothy declamation: for learning impudence, that sure and eternal attendant of ignorance.

These two writers, had their skill answered their wish, would have founded quite a new school in our history. As they are the very first authors whom the Highlands of Scotland have ever produced,¹ the no-

¹ Except the senachies, of whom Martin (Description of the Western Isles, p. 116,) speaks in the following terms: "I must not omit to relate their way of study, which is very singular. They shut their doors and windows for a day's time; and lie on their backs, with a stone upon their belly, and plaids about their heads: and, their eyes being covered, they pump their brains for rhetorical en-

velty and oddity of their prejudices is not to be wondered at. Their contempt for the Lowlanders,' and reverence for savage manners and customs, is striking. The Lowlanders, really themselves the ancient Caledonians, and amounting to more than a million of people, while the Highlanders, an Irish colony, exceed not 400,000, were to lose their history and fame, to gratify the prejudices of these two writers; rash enough to be the bitter enemies of the Irish the ancestors of the Highlanders, and of the Lowlanders their friends. But the ignorance of the Lowlanders themselves, concerning their history, left room for this attack, as the sick lion could not defend himself from the kick of an ass. Had we ever produced a Sigonius, a Du Cange, a Muratori, or even a Torfæus, these puerile writers would have trembled as school-boys before their master. Science would have laughed at the phantoms of opinion.

Were any writer to arise in the Highlands, who would not pretend to confute ancient authorities upon no authority at all, but his own dreams; who would allow the Irish extract of the Highlanders, and peruse Irish MSS. in order to throw light on their history and antiquities by faithful translations; who

comium or panegyric." Martin surely had the second-sight; and the prophecy relates to the Macphersons. The stone must be ignorance; the plaid prejudice.

* In "A Collection of Gaelic Proverbs," Edin. 1785, 12mo, we find the following, p. 67, "An t-ubh is an t-eune do na Ghael, agus an cac is am mum do na Ghall." "The egg and bird to the Highlander, and the dung to the Lowlander."

would study Scandinavian antiquities, as the Norwegians were lords of the Highlands and isles from the ninth century, and remain still in their progeny; he would deserve great praise. After the favourable reception of Ossian, it would be risible to accuse the Lowlanders of prejudice on their part. But to extinguish all history and mention of the Lowlanders was pushing the jest too far; especially as not one name of a Highlander is to be found in the whole history of Scotland after the year 1056.¹ The Highlanders were not indeed even subject to the Scottish crown, from the ninth to the sixteenth century, but to the Norwegian lords: so that their modesty, in taking all our history to themselves, exceeds all parallel.

1773,

Mr WHITAKER's Genuine History of the Britons, in answer to Mr Macpherson, came to light. As Mr M. dealt only in *assertion*, the only answer required was *denial*. But as Mr W. pretended to be Welch, and Mr M. to be a real Highlander, the match was fair.

Et vitula tu dignus, et hic.

1775.

O'FLAHERTY's Ogygia Vindicated against Sir George

¹ That is in solemn narration; for, in minuter annals and memoirs, they are mentioned as concerned in thefts and riots. During the last two centuries, their commotions were dreaded by the Lowlanders.

Mackenzie, was first published from the MS. by Mr O'Connor.

1776,

SIR DAVID DALRYMPLE, Lord Hailes, published the first volume of his *Annals of Scotland*; and the second followed in 1779. They comprize the period from 1056 to 1371; and are written with an accuracy and information hitherto unknown in our history. This excellent writer had before given sundry smaller works, illustrating our history and antiquities, all of which are highly esteemed for the candour, love of truth, exactness and industry, which pervade them. It is much to be regretted that he did not continue his *Annals*, and it is impossible to guess at the reason of the interruption, except that some malignant star seems to influence Scottish history and antiquities. But three centuries of our history, illustrated by Sir David Dalrymple, form a great and pleasing acquisition.

1780,

SMITH'S *Gaelic Antiquities* appeared; a laudable work, as collecting Highland manners and customs: but the author often takes common Norwegian matters for Druidic, as he calls them. It remains to be proved that there ever was a Druid in the Highlands; and we must not abuse the privilege which antiquaries have of dreaming. But this author is far more moderate, and honest, than the Macphersons.

1786,

Johnston's *Antiquitates Cello-Scandicæ*, &c. were

printed at Copenhagen, in two volumes, 4to, containing extracts from the Icelandic writers concerning Britain and Ireland. An acceptable work ; but which is defective in illustration, and in accuracy.

List of the chief Books, and Editions, used.

* * Those in Italic letter are indispensably necessary to the library of a Scottish antiquary.

A.

- ADAMI Bremensis Hist. Eccl. apud Lindenbrog. Script. Germ. Sept. Francof. 1630, fol.
 Adams' Index Villaris. Lond. 1680, fol.
Adelung Glossarium Manuale, ex Ducangio et Carpentario. Halæ, 1772, 6 vols. 8vo.
Adomnani Vita Columbæ, apud Canisium in Lect. Ant. Messingamum, Bollandum, Surium, &c. &c. &c.
 Æthici Cosmographia cum Mela Gronovii. Lug. Bat. 1696, 8vo.
 Aimoini Hist. Paris, 1603, fol. et apud Bouquet Historiens de France.
Ammianus Marcellinus Boxbornii. Lug. Bat. 1632, 12mo: Gronovii, ib. 1693, fol.
 Anastasii Bibliothecarii Hist. Eccl. Paris, 1642, fol.
Andreæ Lexicon Islandicum. Hauniæ, 1683, 4to.
 Archæologia. London, 1770, seqq.
 Arii Polyhistoris libellus de Islandia, Bussæi. Hauniæ, 1733, 4to.
 Aristotelis Opera, 1597, 4 vols. fol.
 Asserii Annales Alfredi, a Wise. Oxonii, 1722, 8vo.

B.

- Bartholinus de causis contemptæ a Danis mortis*. Havniæ, 1689, 4to.
 Baxteri Glossarium Ant. Brit. Lond. 1719, 8vo.
Bedæ Opera, Basil. 1563, 8 vols. fol. *Hist. Eccl. Angl.* Coloniae, 1601, 12mo: a Smith, Cant. 1722, fol.
 Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica. London, 1782, &c. 4to.
 Blondi Opera. Basil. 1531, fol.
 Bollandi, &c. Acta Sanctorum. Antv. 1643 to 1786, fol. 50 vols. published.
 Borlase's Cornwall. Oxford, 1754, fol.

Bouquet Historiens de France. Paris, 1738, *seqq.* fol. 12 vols. published.

Burton's Itinerary of Antoninus. London, 1658, fol.

C.

Cæsar, a Maittaire. Lond. 1772, 8vo.

Camden's *Britannia*, by Gibson. London, 1772, fol.

——— *Anglica, Hibernica, &c.* Francof. 1602, fol.

Caradoc of Llancarvon's History of Wales. London, 1697, 8vo.

Carte's History of England. London, 1747, 4 vols. fol.

Chamberlayne *Oratio Dominica in omnibus fere linguis.* Amst. 1715, 4to.

Chronicon de Mailros, apud Gale script. Angl. Oxon. 1684, 3 vols. fol.

Chronicon Saxonicum, a Wheloc, cum Beda Alfredi. Cant. 1643, fol. a Gibson, Oxonii 1692, 4to.

Chronicon Manniæ, in Camden's *Britannia*.

Claudianus Heinsii. Elz. 1650, 12mo, Gesneri, Lipsiæ, 1759, 8vo.

Cleffeli Antiquitates German. Francof. 1733, 8vo.

Clerk, Sir John, Dissertation on the ancient language of Britain: in *Bibl. Topogr. Brit.*

Cluverii *Geographia.* Lond. 1711, 4to.

Colgani Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ. Lovan. 1645, fol.

——— *Acta Triadis Thaumaturgæ*, (Patricii, Columbæ, et Brigidæ). Ib. 1647, 2 vols. fol.

Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis. Dublin, 1774, *seqq.* 4 vols. 8vo.

Cuminii Vita Columbæ, apud Mabillon *Sæcula Benedictina.*

D.

Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, *Annals of Scotland.* Edin. 1776, 2 vols. 4to.

Dalrymple, Sir James, *Collections concerning Scottish History.* Edin. 1705, 8vo.

Dalrymple, Sir James, *Remarks on Camden.* Edin. 1694, 8vo.

D'Anville *Geographie Ancienne abregée.* Paris, 1768, 3 vols. 12mo.

——— *Etats formés en Europe, apres la chute de l'Emp. Rom.* Paris, 1771, 4to.

Davis *Dictionarium Kymbraicum seu Wallicum.* Londini, 1632, fol.

Diodorus Siculus Wesselingi. Amst. 1746, 2 vols. fol.

Dion Cassius Reimari. Hamburgi, 1750, 2 vols. fol. Leunclavii, Francof. 1592, 8vo.

Dissertationes variæ de antiq. Sveciæ, 1720-1770, 4to, in the king's library.

Du Cange Glossarium ad Script. Mediæ et Infimæ Lat. Paris, 1733, 6 vols. fol.

Du Chesne rerum Norman. Script. Lut. 1619, fol.

E.

Eadmeri Historia Novorum, a Seldeno. Londini, 1623, fol.

Eccardus de origine Germanorum. Goeting. 1750, 4to.

Edda prosaica, Resenii. Hafn. 1665, 4to.

— rhythmica seu antiquior, vulgo Sæmundina dicta. Hafniæ, 1787, 4to, tom. I.

Eddi Vita Wulfridi, apud Gale Script. Angl.

Essai sur l'histoire de Picardie. Abbeville, 1770, 3 vols. 12mo.

Evans' Specimens of Welch poetry. Lond. 1764, 4to.

F.

Flemingi Collectanea de S. Columbano, a Serino. Lovan. 1667, fol.

Florentii Vigornensis Chronicon. Londini, 1592, 4to.

Forduni Scotichronicon. Edin. 1759, 2 vols. fol.

G.

Gale et Fulman Scriptores Hist. Angl. Oxon. 1684, 3 vols. fol.

Gildas de excidio Britonum, apud Bertram Scriptores Tres. Havniæ, 1757, 8vo.

Gibbon's Roman History. London, 1783, 6 vols. 8vo. 3 last vols. 1788, 4to.

Giraldi Cambrensis Itin. Cambriæ, apud Camden. Anglica, Normannica, &c.

Goldasti rerum Alamann. Script. edit. alt. Francof. 1661, fol.

Goodal Introductio ad Fordunum, in edit. Forduni, Edin. 1759, 2 vols. fol. some copies of the same edition bear 1775.

Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale. Lond. 1726, fol.

Grotii Historia Gothorum. Amst. 1655, 8vo.

Gulielmi Neubrigensis Hist. a Hearne. Oxon. 1719, 3 vols. 8vo.

Gunlaugs Saga. Hafniæ, 1775, 4to.

H.

Herodiani Historia. Oxoniæ, 1678, 8vo.

Herodotus Wesselingii. Amst. 1763, fol.
 Hervarar Saga. Hafniæ, 1785, 4to.
 Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores, variorum. Lug. Bat. 1661, 8vo.
Horsley's Britannia Romana. London, 1732, fol.
 Hume's History of England. Lond. 1782, 8 vols. 8vo.
 Hutchinson's View of Northumberland. Newcastle, 1778, 2 vols.
 4to.

I.

Ihre Glossarium Suio-Gothicum. Upsalæ, 1769, 2 vols. fol.
Innes' Critical Essay on the Inhabitants of Scotland. London, 1729,
 2 vols. 8vo.
 Jornandes Vulcanii, Lug. Bat. 1597, 1617, 8vo. et in Grotii Hist.
 Goth.
Isidori Opera. Paris, 1601, fol.
 Islands Landnama-bok. Skalholt, 1688, 4to. Hafniæ, 1774, 4to.
 Itinerarium Antonini. Venet. 1518, 12mo.

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SCOTISH HISTORY

PART I.

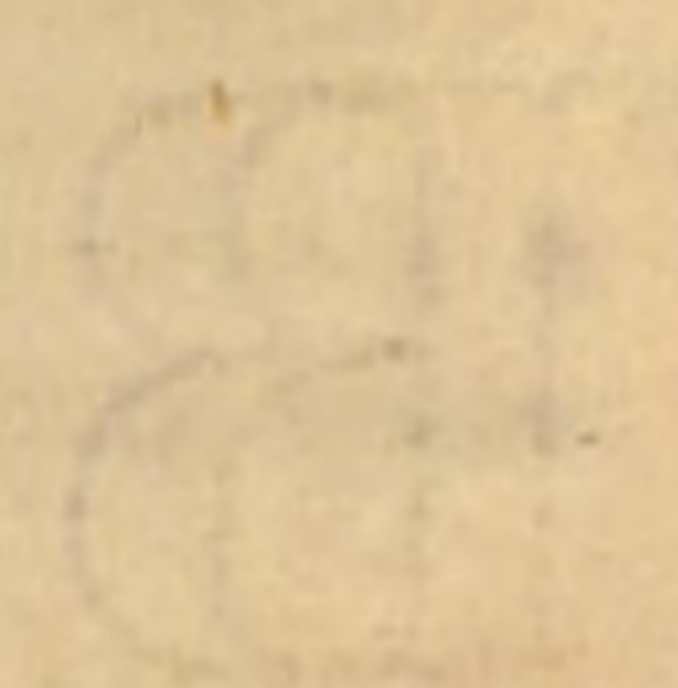
The earliest Celtic Inhabitants of Scotland.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE
Celts
BY
J. G. CAMPBELL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
PART I.

VOL. I.

The Celtic Inhabitants of Scotland
BY
J. G. CAMPBELL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
PART I.



VOL. I.

AN
ENQUIRY
INTO
SCOTISH HISTORY

PRECEDING THE YEAR 1056.

PART I.

The earliest Celtic Inhabitants of Scotland.

CHAPTER I.

The Greek and Roman Geography of Scotland.

WHEN the first dawn of Grecian science rises upon the west of Europe, in the time of Herodotus, we find that this writer calls the islands of Britain and Ireland CASSITERIDES, a name implying the *isles of tin*.^{*} For the Phœnicians traded hither for that metal, from their settlements in Africa and Spain ; and from hence

^{*} Herodot. III. 115. *κασσιτερον* is derived from *κασσα*, *meretrix*, being chiefly used at first as mock silver, for ornaments to such women.

alone the ancient world was supplied with it, whence Aristotle¹ calls it in general *Celtic tin*, as the west of Gaul and of Britain was still possessed by the Celts, the ancient inhabitants of Europe. This name Cassiterides was afterwards improperly given to the isles of Scilly, which were far too minute to attract Grecian notice; and it is agreed by the learned² that it was originally, and properly, given to Britain and Ireland.

Herodotus, who wrote about 450 years before Christ, only hints a very faint knowledge of the Cassiterides: and as the Phœnicians, according to Strabo's³ report, carefully concealed their acquaintance with the west of Europe, lest other nations should interfere in their trade, this knowledge was not increased for a long period. For Polybius, a well-informed writer, who lived about 170 years before Christ, tells us⁴ that, in his time, all that part of Europe north of an oblique line, to be drawn from the Tanais to the head of the Rhone, or extremity of *Gallia Bracata*, afterward *Narbonensis*, was quite unknown. That is, all Russia, Poland, Germany, three quarters of Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia. This ignorance remained till Cæsar entered on his province of Gaul, 57 years before Christ.

My researches being confined to Scotland, no notice shall be taken of the descriptions of the south of Britain by Cæsar, who attacked it 53 years before our era. With regard to the north, he only observes,⁵ after mentioning that Britain is triangular, the south side lying toward Gaul, the west toward Spain, and Hibernia or Ireland, that the north side, as he calls it, fronts the ocean with its angle bent toward Germany. He describes the length of this side, or of Britain, as about 800 miles, being about 100 more

¹ De mir. ausc. si Aristotelis sit.

² See Huet, Commerce des Anciens.

⁴ Polyb. Lib. III.

³ Lib. III.

⁵ De Bello Gall. Lib. V.

than the truth. His geography of Britain is so perverted, that he mistakes the east for the north; but the ancients had so few means of cultivating geography, that it is matter of wonder that they made so few errors, not that they made so many. Cæsar's idea of Britain was this: a triangular isle, whose shortest side opposite to Gaul, or fronting south-east, as he thought, was 500 miles long; the next fronting west to Ireland and to Spain, as then imagined, had 700 miles; the third fronting north-east, its southmost part opposite Germany, the rest viewing only the vast ocean, had 800 miles. To acquire accurate ideas of ancient knowledge, we must lay aside our own, and think, for the moment, as the ancients did; for if we allow nothing for their ignorance, but refer their ideas to our standard, confusion will arise instead of accuracy.

Diodorus Siculus lived in the time of Julius, and is said to have died very old, toward the middle of the reign of Augustus. He has a short description of Britain; and certainly profited by the discoveries of Julius. He tells us¹ that Britain is triangular, like Sicily, terminating in three promontories, 1. Καντίον, *Cantium*, or Kent. 2. Βελερίον, *Belarium*, The Land's End in Cornwall,

Or whether thou, to our moist vows denied,
Sleep'st by the fable of *Bellerus* old;
Where the great vision of the guarded mount
Looks tow'rd Namancos and Bayona's hold.

Milton's Lycidas.

3. Ορχας, *Orcas*, or Dunnet Head in Caithness-shire, the most northern point of Britain, fronting the Orcaades, or Orkney isles. This is the very first mention of any place in Scotland by any writer. Gaul being subjected to the Roman empire, by Julius Cæsar,

¹ Lib. V.

all provincial benefits were speedily extended to it: many Romans settling there; and no doubt some applying themselves to merchandize. Hence discoveries were often made with respect to neighbouring countries. Diodorus heard of these discoveries; and thus mentions the most northern point of Britain by name, though unknown to Julius.

Far other was the case with Strabo, who lived under Tiberius about 20 years after Christ, but seems never to have been beyond Cappadocia, his native country. Though a sensible and valuable writer, he shews such gross ignorance of countries just around him, as to take the Caspian Sea for a vast gulf of the great Northern Ocean, while it is a lake near 1000 miles from it; and he brands Herodotus as a fabulist, who however knew the Caspian was a great lake, and is in geography more veracious than Strabo himself, though he wrote 500 years before. This says very little for Strabo's information on a country so near him; and with regard to Britain and Ireland, as vastly more distant from him, no wonder that it is erroneous. In his description of Britain, to be found in his fourth book, he joins with former writers in considering it as triangular; but says each side has about 4300 stadia in length, that is, allowing eight stadia to a mile, $537\frac{1}{2}$ miles. In Book II. p. 128, he says, the length of that side of Britain which faces Gaul, is 5000 stadia, or 625 miles. In Book II. p. 72, he says Ireland is 5000 stadia from France, that is, 625 miles! Book I. p. 63, he says, from Marseilles to the middle of Britain are 5000 stadia, or 625 miles; while France is about 500 miles broad, and the middle of Britain would, according to Cæsar's computation, who assigns it 800 miles of length, require 400 miles more. In another passage of Book I. he infers the distance from Marseilles to Ireland to be 12,200 stadia, or 1525 miles! Casaubon has well remarked,

that Strabo's geography of Britain and Ireland is inaccurate, inconsistent, and self-contradictory. In short, we can only say, that he knew nothing either of Britain or Ireland; and that, considering his distance, it is no wonder he did not. But his grand and prodigious error, and in which as he followed no writer, so he is followed by none, is his placing Hibernia, or Ireland, *north* of Albion, or Britain.¹ Strabo, if we may judge from his behaviour to Herodotus, seems to have been very fond of his own ideas, and to have looked upon all information as fabulous, that clashed with his preconceptions. If he heard of Cæsar's account, who rightly put Ireland on the west of Britain, he has only looked on it as akin to that of Herodotus, who regarded the Caspian as a lake. Yet both Cæsar and Herodotus were right, and Strabo egregiously wrong; a lesson of modesty to those who prefer what they call philosophy to information. For his inconsistent measurements, blame is no doubt due to transcribers, for numbers are in all MSS. most apt

¹ Goodal, in his Introduction to Fordun, cap. 2. has availed himself of this mistake of Strabo, to support his strange fancy, that the Hibernia of Strabo was Scotland, and that Ireland was unknown to the ancients till the time of Vespasian! Ireland, a great and fertile island, was known to the ancients as early as Britain, and gave rise to the plural Cassiterides of Herodotus, "British islands," of Polybius. As lying on the west of Britain, it seems to have been known to the Phœnicians, even before Britain. Scotland, the most remote corner of Britain, must have been last known, as common sense argues. But it is risible to see Ireland totally vanish in such prejudices. He, who could take the Mona of Cæsar for Emona, an isle of an acre of ground in the Frith of Forth, cannot deserve confutation. All foreign writers put Strabo's idea, of Ireland being on the north of Britain, as a mere mistake, as well as his extending the western point of Britain so as to front the Pyrenees. Such mistakes appear in the best ancient writers, but are to be corrected by better information. Mr Goodal betrays his intention at the beginning of this very chapter, by telling that, as some will have Ireland to be the most ancient Scotia, so he will shew that Scotland was the most ancient Hibernia! A pretty revenge!

to be blundered. But his own errors in placing Ireland north of Britain, and extending the south of Britain from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, with others equally gross, only strike us with the imperfection of ancient geography, and of Strabo's information on some matters in particular. But if we reflect ourselves, that similar errors with regard to America, and other distant countries, may be found in geographers of the last century, we must also reflect that the west of Europe was an America to the Greeks; and be content to correct their mistakes, by the solid information of Tacitus, and other Romans, whose knowledge was immediate and authentic. The grand cause of Strabo's error, with regard to Ireland, seems to have been, that it was the furthest land discovered to the northward, and he of course thought it the furthest north from Asia and Greece. Strabo says nothing of the north of Britain, and seems not to have seen Diodorus, for he only names *Καυτίον*, as one of the three terminating promontories; but the names of the other two, Belerion, and Orcas, he does not mention.

Claudius, who began to reign 41 years after our era, is rightly marked by Tacitus¹ as the first emperor who began the real conquest of Britain, then more and more known; for Mela, who wrote, as his work expresses,² at the commencement of this conquest, mentions the Orcades, or Orkneys, and says they amount to thirty in number; a calculation pretty accurate, for they are twenty-six. Mela's mention of the Orkneys seems to have given rise to a fable, retailed by Eutropius and Beda, and other writers of the declining ages, that Claudius conquered the Orkneys. Vespasian was the general employed by Claudius in Britain, and was here, as Tacitus expresses, "shewn to the fates."

¹ Agricola.

² III. 6.

Under Nero, Suetonius Paullinus continued the conquest of Britain ; and Tacitus, in the Life of Agricola, has given us an idea of his progress. Pliny, the natural historian, wrote under Vespasian, or about 70 years after Christ ; but even then nothing concerning North Britain can be found.¹

Yet was it in the reign of Vespasian that full splendour was to be diffused over Scotland, from the arms of Agricola, so nobly celebrated by Tacitus. Agricola seems to have taken the command in Britain in the consulship of Ceionius Commodus, and Cornelius Priscus, 78 years after Christ, being the last year of the reign of Vespasian, and to have left it in the fourth year of Domitian, or the 84th year of our æra.² The Brigantes, or people of Yorkshire, &c. had been subdued by Cerealis,³ and all South Britain was subject to Rome ; so that the conquest of Agricola began at the Tweed ; and to him we owe all we know concerning the state of Scotland, when first explored by the Romans. The English have Cæsar for the father of their history : the Scottish have Tacitus.

Tacitus wrote his Life of Agricola in the year of Christ 97, as Brotier shews, being the year of Rome 849, and first of Trajan. He tells us, that Fabius Rusticus compared the shape of Britain to a bipennis, or polax, that is, its triangular head : but that the extent of Caledonia, or Scotland, running far on, gives it rather the shape of a *cuneus*, or wedge : an observation just to this day. He then mentions that the Roman fleets had sailed around it, and had dis-

¹ Pliny, IV. 16. says that Pytheas and Isidorus put the circumference of Albion at about 3800 miles : that Agrippa marked its length at 800, breadth 300, and Ireland as of the same breadth, but 200 miles less in length. Pliny names the Orcades, Acmodæ (perhaps Shetland isles) Hæbudes, Mona, Monapia, Ricnea.

² Horsley's Brit. Rom.

³ Pliny, IV. 16. mentions the Silva Caledonia, as the boundary of the Roman knowledge of Britain.

covered the Orkneys, and seen Thule.¹ Tacitus, however, adds little to the geography of Scotland, save the weight of his great name; for he only mentions *Taus*, or the Tay; *Glota*, or Clyde; *Bodotria*, or Forth; the *Mons Grampius*, or Grampian hills; and the *Horesti*, thought to be the people of Fife-shire.

About forty years after Tacitus wrote, Ptolemy gave his geography, which many concur to regard as the most inaccurate work of antiquity, and which others, with more reason, think a wonderful production for the time. Indeed to expect accuracy in ancient geography will appear ridiculous to any one, who reflects in the least on the deficiency of ancient science. We allow for errors in ancient natural history, &c. why not equal allowance in geography? How could the ancients take longitudes, or latitudes, with any exactness? Ptolemy's geography of Scotland is, above all, singularly defective, for he makes the whole country bend due *east*, from the *Νοταντων αρχον*, or Mull of Galloway, to the *Ορχας αρχον*, or Promontory Orcas of Caithness. So that all Scotland, instead of running due north, runs due east: nor can this arise from any corruption of his text, but was infallibly his opinion, from the longitudes and latitudes he lays down at full length, for a hundred places. The whole of Ptolemy's work that regards Scotland may be found in the Appendix; and particular illustrations of it, in two chapters, Parts II. and III. of this treatise.²

¹ The veracity of Pytheas has found able supports in D'Anville, Gesner, Murray, (Mem. des Inscr. Acta Goeting, &c.) D'Anville will have the real ancient Thule to be Shetland; but, I confess, I cannot conceive, that from the northern extremity of Britain, to Shetland, should be a navigation of *six* days. Iceland seems to answer the description better.

² See also the letter of M. Gossellin to the author, in the Appendix.

The other geographical notices concerning Scotland, in Greek or Roman writers, are too minute to deserve enumeration, and will be found, as they rise to historical view, in the course of this work. The *Notitia Imperii*, written about 406, in the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, was found in Britain, as Alciatus tells in his preface; and has a list of the stations along the Wall of Antoninus, between Clyde and Forth, as afterward shall be shewn, not that of Hadrian between Solway and Tine, as imagined by antiquaries. The *Itinerarium Antonini* has also one or two names of Roman stations in Scotland; and is a work of nearly the same period with the *Notitia*. The vulgar title is erroneous, as Vossius shews, for it can belong to no Antoninus, as it mentions *Constantinopolis*, *Maximianopolis*, and *Constantina*, so must be posterior to Constantine I. It seems to be the work of Julius Honorius, mentioned by Cassiodorus, and others; but see the remarks of Gronovius, in his edition of Mela, *Lug. Bat.* 1696, 8vo. Some MSS. bear *Incipit Chronica Julii Cæsaris*, a title as just as that of *Itinerarium Antonini*: but *Itinerarium Imperiale* would be the best title. The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which is modern, but derived from ancient sources, has nothing concerning Britain, except a small fragment of the south of England. The *Geographus Anonymus Ravennas* enumerates a few names of places in Scotland; he wrote in the seventh or eighth century; and that passage, though of no value, is given in the Appendix.

Such are all the ancient monuments which illustrate the Roman geography of Scotland. But a modern one, of a most singular kind, also deserves mention, namely, the work of *Ricardus Corinensis*, or Richard of Cirencester, a writer of the fourteenth century. Mr Bertram, an Englishman, residing in Denmark, found this work there, about thirty years ago,

in a MS. which, from a specimen sent, Mr Casley, a good judge, pronounced 400 years old; and it was published at Copenhagen in 1758. The author had it seems travelled to Italy,¹ and had there perused Cæsar, Strabo, Ptolemy, Tacitus, and other authentic writers. He also builds on certain papers of a Roman *Dux*; ² by which, if I mistake not, we must understand a *Dux Britanniarum*, or Governor of Britain, not a general. Though this work is surprising for the age, yet its authenticity has not been questioned, and appears unquestionable. Nevertheless, as being so late a work, it must be used with much caution.

¹ Stukely's Account of Richard of Cirencester, 1757, 4to.

² Lib. I. c. 7. p. 35. ex fragmentis quibusdam a Duce quodam Romano consignatis, et posteritati relictis, sequens collectum est itinerarium.

CHAPTER II.

The earliest Celtic Inhabitants of Scotland.

THE Greek and Roman writers must now be left for a while, that a point may be investigated, on which they afford no light. But let not the reader imagine that he is to be led into the regions of systematic conjecture, or etymological imagination. A rigid enquiry after truth is the sole aim of this performance; and truth has bounds while error has none. The cultivated land of science is not extensive: but around it lie the sandy hills and deserts of falsehood, ready to be raised in whirlwinds by every blast of prejudice or folly, and to swallow up parts at once, which it requires infinite labour to clear.

It is well known that the Celts were the ancient inhabitants of Europe. They were reduced to a third part of Gaul, and to the western part of Britain and Ireland, before the time of Cæsar, as is self-evident from his commentaries. But, before they were expelled by the Scythians of Asia, they appear to have held most of Europe. Pliny mentions a *Promontorium Celticæ*, which, by the situation he gives, and the names around, must have been near Moscow in Russia. The Cimmerii, who were driven from the Euxine, by the Scythians, were, as the ancients inform, the same with the Cimbri; and the Cimbri were Celts, as fully shewn in the annexed Dissertation. The Celts being expelled by the Scythians, and reduced to the western extremities of Europe, about 500 years before Christ, little knowledge of

them can be derived from the Grecian earliest writers, who only mention them as a people living far to the west. But they have left, in the names of rivers and hills, sure marks of their language and residence.¹

When a writer treats a point of antiquity, without direct authorities, he should say very little, and very much to the purpose. That the reader may therefore see at once, that there is a firm foundation for inferring a Celtic race of men to have been the earliest inhabitants we can trace of Scotland, in particular, he must attend to a fact, which is equipollent to the best authorities. This fact is, that the names of rivers, and mountains, all over Scotland, even to the furthest western isles, are very often, in that dialect of the Celtic, called the Welsh, or Cumraig²

To give this fact full weight, it must be remarked that the Picts, or more properly the Piks, whom Beda³ mentions as the first inhabitants of North Britain, and whom Agricola found there, were, as Beda says, a people of Scythia, a name Jornandes and others give to Scandinavia; and according to Tacitus⁴ were Germans. That is, by both accounts they were Scythians or Goths,⁵ so that the Celtic names could not be theirs. Next it must be remarked that the Dalriads, or present Highlanders, a small Irish colony, never extended beyond Argyle till a late period.⁶ Nor could the names be theirs, since the Welch differs widely from the Irish; and the more old they are, the difference is the greater, so that Beda marks them as two different tongues, as much as the Eng-

¹ See these points fully illustrated, and the authorities, in the Dissertation at the end of this work.

² See the different descriptions of Scotland; and those of the Hebrides, by Martin, Dr Macpherson, Macauley, &c.

³ Lib. I. c. 1.

⁴ Agricola. The origin of the Piks is fully illustrated, Part III.

⁵ See Dissertation annexed.

⁶ As shewn, Part IV.

lish and Latin.¹ These names therefore neither belong to the Piks, nor Dalriads. Of course they belong to inhabitants preceding both.

As the Irish call their tongue Gaelic, or Gaulish ; so the Welsh call theirs Cumraig. As the Irish call themselves Gael or Gauls, so the Welsh call themselves Cumri. Now it appears that the Celts (a grand generic name, as the Sarmatians, Goths, Mongols, &c.) consisted originally of two vast divisions, namely the Gael or Gauls, who were the ancient inhabitants of all Gaul ; and the Cumri, or Cimbri, or Cimmerii, who held all Germany.²

As the south part of Britain was first peopled from Gaul, by Gael, who were afterward expelled by Cumri, from Germany ;³ so there is reason to infer that the north part of Britain was first peopled by Cumri, from present Jutland. For the passage from the Cimbric Chersonese to North Britain, through open sea, was far more easy than from the south of Britain to the north, through vast forests. Sea, far from hindering, promotes even savage colonization ; and late navigators have found islands in the Pacific Ocean, 500 or 600 miles from each other, all peopled by one race of men. Where men and sea are found, canoes are always found, even in the earliest state of society : and the savage Fins, and Greenlanders, perform far longer navigations, than from Jutland to Scotland. The length of Britain is so great, from south to north, that to populate the latter from the former, must have been a work of many ages ; whereas the passage from Germany was open and easy. The Piks, as fully shewn afterward, came from Norway to Scotland ; and analogy may infer that the first Celtic inhabitants of the

¹ Beda, Lib. I. c. 1. *quinque gentium linguis . . . Anglorum, videlicet, Britonum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum.*

² Dissertation.

³ Part II. c. 1.

latter country proceeded from the north of Germany; for the Cimbri, or Cumri, possessed the coast of Germany, opposite to North Britain, or the Cimbric Chersonese, even down to a late period. As it is improbable that the north of Britain remained without Celtic inhabitants, while all the opposite country of Germany was held by them, it is reasonable to infer, that the Cimbri were the first. But when we find Cimbric names of mountains, and rivers, remaining in the most remote parts of Scotland, the inference acquires as much certainty as the case will permit. These Cimbri, the first inhabitants of Scotland that can be traced, were of one great stock with the Cumri, or Welsh; but the Welsh are not their descendants, but remains of the Cimbri of South Britain, who passed from the opposite coast of Germany, and drove the Gael or Gauls, the first inhabitants, into Ireland, as shall presently be evinced.

The Cimbri held Scotland till the Picts came and expelled them; an event which, as shall afterwards be shewn, happened about 200 years before Christ. These Cimbri were driven by the Picts, down below Loch Fyn, and the Tay, and afterwards beyond the friths of Forth and Clyde, where a part remained till a late period,¹ and they are doubtless the progenitors of some of the inhabitants of Clydesdale, and Gallo-way.

But the greatest part appears to have past into Ireland, from the opposite shores; and, if the *Tuath de Danan* of Irish fables had any existence, it is likely they were Cumri from North Britain. For by the Irish accounts² the *Tuath de Danan* came from North Britain; and from Ptolemy it appears, that a tribe of the Cumri, in Ayrshire, Renfrew, &c. was called *Damnii*; as was also a tribe on the opposite coast of Ireland, accord-

¹ Part II.

² O'Flaherty, O'Conor, &c.

ing to Richard. But Ptolemy calls the Irish tribe, *Darini*; and the Tuath de Danan may be a fairy people. However this be, there is reason to think that a great part of the Cumri passed from North Britain into Ireland.

The Celtic nations had been driven to the west of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, by the Scythians, or Goths, at least 300 years before Christ, as shewn in the Dissertation annexed: and their remains were so intermingled with their conquerors, that their language and manners were half Gothic, even before the Christian era, and have been always getting more and more so. Hence no account of real Celtic manners, or language, can be recovered. But from every argument of ancient authority, and of their manners recorded by successive authors of the middle ages, and existing even to this day, the ancient Celts must have resembled other aborigines. Asia was the parent of arms, arts, and cultivation; and when the Scythians poured into Europe from the shores of the Euxine, the Celts were to them, as the tribes of America to the European settlers. This century has been overwhelmed with visions concerning Druidism, and Druidic monuments, as being universal among the Celts. Druidism, as we know from Cæsar,¹ was a late invention in the South of Britain; and it was totally abolished by Tiberius.² It was palpably Phœnician,³ and was taught by the Phœnicians to the inhabitants of Cornwall, where they traded for tin: nor is there a single authority, in all antiquity, for its ever extending, during the century or so that it existed, beyond the island Mona, or Anglesey, and the Garonne, or southern bound of Celtica, in Gaul. They therefore who speak of Druidism in Germany, Caledonia, or Ireland, only indulge imagination at the

¹ Lib. IV.

² Plin. Hist. Nat. xxx. 1.

³ Dissertation annexed.

expençe of judgment. Tacitus knew of no Druids, either in Germany, or Caledonia ;¹ and there is not a shadow of authority for Druids in Ireland. Druidic monuments form another idle dream of antiquists ; but the Celts had no monuments, any more than the Fins, or savage Africans, or Americans ; and those monuments are really Gothic, and are common in Scandinavia and Iceland, where no Celts, nor Druids, were known. Those ignorantly called Druidic temples, are Gothic courts of justice, used for that purpose in Scandinavia and Iceland, down to a late period.²

¹ Germania et Agricola. Cæsar VI. says expressly, the Germans had no Druids, *neque Druides habent*. Tacitus, in Agricola, says the Caledonians were Germans.

² See Wormius, Bartholin, and other Northern Antiquaries.

PART II.

*The Southern Britons, between the Rivers Tweed
and Forth, Solway and Clyde.*

PART II.

The Southern Division, between the River Thames
and Firth, Norfolk and Hyde.

PART II.

The Southern Britons, between the Rivers Tweed and Forth, Solway and Clyde.

CHAPTER I.

Origins of the Southern Britons.

THE southern part of Britain, now called England, was no doubt originally peopled from Gaul, at a time when the Celts, or primitive possessors of Gaul, held all that country, even up to the Rhine. These *Gael*, or first inhabitants of Britain, were driven into Ireland by another Celtic colony of the Cimbri, or *Cumri*, from Germany, remains of which exist in the present Cumri, or Welsh. The last, in their turn, were confined to the western and northern parts of present England by the *Belgæ*, a third colony, who arrived from Belgic Gaul, and who, as descended of the Germans, did not speak the Celtic, but the Gothic tongue. When Cæsar landed here, he tells us, he found Britain inhabited by two races of men, the *Belgæ* in the countries on the south-east; and those he calls *Indigenes*, in the inner parts. The last were palpably the Welsh, after called Britones, as the most ancient inhabitants: for all memory of the Gael, or real *Indigenes*, was unknown to the Roman and Saxon writers.

The bright page of Cæsar affords sufficient notice of the second and third of these colonies ; but a reader of accuracy will ask what fact or authority is there for the first. Such a reader it is my sole ambition to please ; and I shall therefore give him the facts which have convinced me, though little credulous in points of this nature. Every reader will allow that the Roman, and much more the Saxon writers were too late, and too unacquainted with the Cumraig language and traditions to attain knowledge of an event which must have happened near a thousand years before the time of Cæsar. This event must therefore be sought among the Cimbri themselves, who expelled these Gael ; and it was so vast, and must have left such traces behind, that we may safely trust them with it. Now Lloyd, a man perfectly versed in the Welsh language and antiquities, is our chief guide to this fact. For in his *Archæologia*,¹ he tells us much of the *Guydhelians*, as he calls them, being but a Welsh pronunciation of *Gael*, or *Gadhel*, the Gauls ; and says they inhabited all England and Wales before the Welsh came into the island and expelled them : and he adds, that these Guydhelians, or real Aborigines, doubtless came from Gaul. This fact Mr Lloyd seems to put beyond a doubt, by remarking that in Wales itself many names of rivers and mountains are Gaelic, not Cumraig ; and must have been imposed by more ancient inhabitants than the Cumri or Welsh. Mr Macpherson² also has well remarked the three colonies above stated, of Gael, Cimbri, and Belgæ, though he mistakes the Belgæ for Celts.

The Roman writers derived almost their whole ideas of Britain from the Belgæ, who possessed the southern parts. As it was natural to think that Britain had first been peopled from Gaul, and the Belgæ

¹ Preface.

² Introduction to the History of Britain and Ireland.

knew of no colony preceding the Cimbri, whom they found in possession, it is no wonder that these Cimbri passed with the Romans, who paid as little attention to the two races inhabiting Britain, as we do to Indian nations, for the real *Indigenes* or first Gaulic colony. Cæsar and Tacitus may be regarded as the only ancient writers who could possibly illustrate this question: the former being in Britain himself; the latter, if he did not attend Agricola, lived long in Belgic Gaul as procurator, and had great opportunities of intelligence. Yet has Britain been most unfortunate in the Roman accounts, for Cæsar left the island before much discovery; and Tacitus is so brief and abstract, that he of all writers affords least materials for such enquiry. He is the eagle of history; and keeps such a sublime tract, that particulars often escape his notice.

Yet let us consider a moment the accounts of Cæsar and Tacitus. The former begins his description thus: "The inner part of Britain is possessed by those who are reported to have been produced in the island itself; the maritime part by those who have passed from Belgic Gaul, for the sake of war and prey."¹ The rest of his description, and actions in Britain, refer solely to the Belgæ. Of the Cimbri he knew nothing but, as above expressed, that there were reputed *Indigenes* in the inner part of the island. He says nothing of Druids in his British transactions, nor of any thing that can apply to a Celtic people. Yet, in the next book, describing the manners of the

¹ *Brittanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt: maritima pars ab iis qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa, ex Belgio transierunt, &c. Lib. V.* Britain was unmolested by the Romans after this till the time of Claudius, or for near a century, during which the Belgæ were always gaining ground. Cæsar, as Tacitus observes, only saw Britain; and it is doubtful, if Tacitus saw it: yet they are the only writers in the least capable of giving us authentic information.

Gauls, and afterward those of the Germans, he says, that *in omni Gallia*, “in all Gaul,” there were two races of men, the people who were held as mere slaves, and another class comprizing the Equites, or Knights, and Druids: and that the Druidic discipline was thought to have been invented in Britain, and brought from thence to Gaul; and that those, who wished to study it much, went to Britain for that purpose. Now in the very beginning of his work he tells us *Gallia omnis*, “all Gaul,” was divided into three parts, one inhabited by the Belgæ, one by the Aquitani, one by the Celtæ, *qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ nostra Galli appellantur*, also then called Gauls in special by the Romans, as being the original people of Gaul. *Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus, inter se differunt*: “all these differ in language, customs, and laws.” Yet in describing the customs of Gaul, he puts all as the same. Has he not herein palpably contradicted himself? Or is the fact this, that his *omnis Gallia* of the sixth book is quite different from his *omnis Gallia* of the first; the former applying solely to the Celtæ, who were peculiarly called Galli, in his time, as Cæsar says? He tells us, Lib. II. c. 4. *Belgas esse ortos a Germanis*, “that the Belgæ sprung from the Germans,” or, in other words, they were Germans. The *omnis Gallia* of the sixth book, is Gallia Proper, Celtic Gaul, where alone Druids could exist; for he mentions, in describing the Germans in the next page, that they had no Druids, *neque Druides habent*. The Belgæ had of course no Druids, neither in Gaul, nor Britain. The Celts, or Galli Proper, had; and it was from the Celts of the west of Britain that this discipline, according to Cæsar, came. Cæsar uses *Gallus*, *Gallica*, quite laxly, and indiscriminately, as we use *Indian*. In mentioning the people of Kent, he says, *neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine*, “in customs they differ little from the Gallic:” yet they were

Belgæ, and of course he means the customs of Belgic Gaul. The word *Gallus* applies among the Romans to Belgium, Aquitania, Celtica, Gallia Braccata, Cisalpine Gaul, all together, or either of them : the word *Britannus* applies with the ancients to Cimbri, Belgæ, Caledones or Piks. It is from circumstances we must determine distinctly what distance, that renders all objects indistinct, made indiscriminate to them. We in Europe speak of Indians in the East, and in America : those who reside in East India, or in America, speak of many distinct nations in these countries, totally different in origin, speech, and manners. Great confusion has arisen from not attending to this. For instance, we know that those Gauls, who took Rome, ravaged Greece, and settled in Asia, under the title of Galatæ, were of Cisalpine Gaul ; and that the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul, and of Gallia Braccata, and of Belgium, the only Gauls who figure in history, were all Germans, and not one Celt among them. Yet are they called Celts ; though the Senones, who took Rome, were the very Semnones of the south of Germany ; though the Celts wore no braccæ, or breeches, the grand badge of Germans ; though we know from Cæsar, and Strabo,¹ that the Belgæ were Germans : though, in short, the Celtæ were confined to the most remote part of Gaul, and could not defend themselves against the Germans, and Iberi, far less make any conquests abroad.

Tacitus next merits consideration. He describes Britain in his *Agricola* ; and, like Cæsar, confounds all the Gauls, so that we do not know whether he means Belgæ, or Celtæ. He mentions three races of

¹ Strabo shews the Belgic manners to have been quite German ; and says risibly, that the Germans were so called by the Romans, as being *Germani*, or brothers German of the Belgic Gauls. Lib. IV.

men in Britain, the Germans in Caledonia, the Silures, who were Celts, of Wales and Cornwall ;¹ the Galli opposite to Gaul. It is remarkable that he also mentions no Druids in Britain, save in the fourteenth book of his Annals, when describing the attack of Suetonius Paullinus upon Mona, or Anglesey. *Proximi Gallis et similes sunt*, “the Britons next Gaul resemble the Gauls,” is all we can get from Tacitus, to our present purpose. In his Germania, he uses *Gallica lingua*, palpably for the Gaelic, or Celtic ; and he finds the Estii, a people of present Prussia, to have a speech resembling the *British*. They were in all appearance remains of the old Cimbri, and spoke the Cumraig ; for, had he meant the Belgic British, it was actual German, so could not be distinguished in Germany. This is the only faint hint we have, that Tacitus knew there was a peculiar British tongue, neither spoken in Germany nor Gaul ; and which was palpably that of Cæsar’s Indigenes, the Cimbri. Tacitus seems to have known nothing of Britain save the coasts. Had Suetonius Paullinus written his own campaigns, and been a man of observation like Cæsar, we should have known the rest upon Roman authority, as well as we know the south inhabited by the Belgæ, from Cæsar, and the north inhabited by their German brethren, from Tacitus. Of the middle, Cæsar seems to have known more than Tacitus. Indeed, the Romans despised Britain, and afford us poor materials concerning it. Strabo, Lib. II. p. 115.

¹ Tacitus, misled by the old opinion of Cæsar, and others, that Spain lay on the west of Britain and Ireland, hints an idea that the Silures came from Spain, but instantly retracts it, and infers them of Celtic Gaul, though indeed Cumraig Celts. The *torti crines et colorati vultus*, “curled hair, and brown faces,” which also led him to think the Silures Spaniards, belong to the Celts of Wales, Ireland, Scotland, at this day ; who have black curled hair, and brown faces ; those few among them who have fair faces, and red, or light hair, the grand features of the Goths, are of Gothic extract.

echoes their contempt, saying, that it is an isle of no use, and its people not to be feared. No wonder then that their accounts are quite brief, and inaccurate. All its people were alike savages to them: their various tongues and manners they did not care to know.

To this is owing a great deficiency in the accounts of Roman Britain, namely, that we cannot fix the bounds between the Belgæ and the Cimbri, the Gothic part of the inhabitants and the Celtic. Mr Whitaker, who mistakes the Belgæ also for Celts, attempts to mark their territories,¹ but with his usual fancy, and ingenious aberration from good sense. He constantly refers to his authorities; but, upon consulting them, the reader will find that an overheated imagination *bends its eye on vacancy*, and sees every thing where cool judgment sees nothing. From Cæsar and Tacitus no positive help can be derived on this subject. The whole south of England was possessed by the Belgæ, save Devonshire and Cornwall, in which, and the southern half of Wales, dwelled the SILURES, a numerous people in two nations, the *Dumnonii* southmost, and the *Demetæ* in South Wales.² That the *Dumnonii* were Silures, appears clear from this, that Tacitus says the Silures live opposite to Spain, and the *Dumnonii* were in fact the only people opposite to Spain. The chief of the Scilly isles is also called *Silura* by Solinus, and the present name seems to spring from it. Besides, the Silures are mentioned as a vast people, like the Belgæ and Cimbri, and must of course have had various tribes; for, if only one tribe in South

¹ History of Manchester, and Genuine History of the Britons.

² In Richard's book, always to be cautiously used, we find Cimbri among the Silures; but from his own words, *utrumne vero modernum Walliæ nomen dederint*, &c. it is clear that he has confounded a generic name with that of a tribe, owing probably to the confused manner of old maps.

Wales, as supposed, Tacitus would not have mentioned them as a distinct race, for they would have been too minute for notice.

Towards the north, if I mistake not, the Belgæ extended to the Humber, as to the Severn on the west. Mr Whitaker opposes this, and almost confines them to the south of the Thames; because, says he, Cæsar places them in the maritime parts. Strange that Mr W. forgot that England has maritime parts on the east, as well as on the south; and that the east parts were more opposite to the Belgic coast of the continent, than the south. As all allow the country south of the Thames, and west to the mouth of the Severn and Devonshire, to have been in the hands of the Belgæ, I shall not examine Mr Whitaker's revelations as to their progress in this quarter, save in one point as a specimen. Cæsar says that the Belgic tribes in Britain retained generally the names of their original tribes in Gaul. Mr W. who forgot that Cæsar speaks of Belgic, or German, Gaul, dreams that this refers to Celtic Gaul; and is so absurd as to call the *Bebroces* and *Atrebates* aboriginal Britons or Gael, because their names are found in Gaul! True, but it is in Belgic Gaul; where, if you look into any map prefixed to a school Cæsar, you will find them. The *Morini* are also in Belgic Gaul. The *Segontiaci*, of Hampshire, seem the *Sueconi* of Belgic Gaul, bordering on the *Atrebates* there as here: see Cluverius. The *Hedui*, on the mouth of the Severn, alone remain disputed. Mr W. will have them aboriginal Gael, because there were *Aedui* in Celtic Gaul. Richard of Cirencester, as published by Bertram, is the sole authority for these *Hedui*, and little to be trusted; yet, if I mistake not, Mr Bertram has read *Hedui* for *Hessui*. The *Hedui* were in the south of Gaul, and surrounded on all hands by many warlike nations, whence it is improbable, if not impossible, that they could come to Britain. The *Essui* (see Cæsar,

Lib. V. and the geographers) were in Belgic Gaul, between the Atrebates and Morini, exactly as these Hedui here. We may therefore most safely read Hessui.

Let us now proceed to the north of the Thames. The *Trinobantes* of Essex, Mr Whitaker, and all, grant to be Belgæ. The disputed nations therefore are only the *Cassii*, *Boduni*, *Cenomanni*, *Iceni*, and *Coritani*, being all between the Thames and Humber. The *Cassii* were surely part of the *Vello Cassi* of Belgic Gaul, who were the Cassi, with an epithet. Besides, the very name of Londinium, or London, the capital of the *Cassii* and of the island, shews that they were a Gothic people: *Lunden* being the capital of Anglen in Denmark, whence the English came; and another *Lunden* in Schonen is esteemed the most ancient city in the northern kingdoms. The name is thought to be from the Gothic *Lund*, a wood: *Lund-dun*, a fort, or town in a wood. The *Chassi* were also a German people, as Cluverius shews. To the *Boduni* I can find no similar name in Gaul, save that of *Boduognatus*, general of the *Nervii*, a Belgic tribe. The *Budini*, a Scythian people, in Herodotus, resemble it; as does *Boda*, in Blackenburg of Germany, *Bodumna*, a peninsula of Jutland, *Bodon*, in Mæsia; all Gothic names, but little to the purpose; though it must be added, that no similar names occur in Celtic Gaul. The *Cenomanni*, however, appear in Celtic Gaul; but *manni* is a termination quite unknown to any other Celtic nation. At the same time, though they were in Celtic Gaul, they may have been a Belgic tribe, who, upon some pique, went over to the enemy, and had lands assigned to them, as usual among barbarous nations. The Belgæ had many settlements in Celtic Gaul, as the *Veneti*, for instance, even in its extremity, who were Belgæ, as Strabo informs, Lib. IV. Names in *manni* are all Gothic, as *Alamanni*, *Marcomanni*,

&c. The *Iceni* seem to have been Belgæ, from about the *Icius portus* ; and who, migrating wholly into Britain, left no trace behind but that name. It was afterwards called also *Bonona* ; and it is remarkable, that *Benonæ* was a town of the *Iceni*. The *Coritani* seem also to have been Belgæ. Their city is by Richard called *Ratis-Corion*, a Gothic name, as appears from *Ratisbon*, *Ratzeburg*, *Ratisboda*, &c. &c. in Germany.

Nay the *Brigantes*, on the north of the Humber, may well be suspected a German nation. *Brigantium* in Spain, with a town of the same name on the *Lacus Brigantinus* in Vindelicia, were Gothic, not Celtic ; as is the common German term, *brig*, or *berg*, “ a town.” Strabo and Stephanus Byzantinus tell, that *briga* or *bria* signified a town in the Thracic, Getic, or Gothic language. (See Part IV. ch. 1.)

No ancient authority can be brought against the above theory. Cæsar and Tacitus rather confirm it. Cæsar mentions that many nations beyond the Thames joined with Cassivellaunus, leader of the southern tribes, to oppose him. The Cimbri would rather have wished the destruction of the Belgæ, their worst enemies, who had seized their possessions. I must not leave the Belgæ without hinting, that, as Pliny places a people called *Britanni* * in Belgic Gaul, it is highly probable these *Britanni* were of the first Belgæ who

* Harduin says, that all MSS. bear *Britanni*. Their situation was about Abbeville in Picardy ; and Sanson has written a book upon them, followed by Carte. Both these writers risibly use a passage, which Strabo gives as a specimen of ancient *ignorance*, as a piece of ancient *information*, namely, that Britain was thought a city of Gaul ! See Strabo IV. Mr Whitaker as oddly confounds these with the people of Bretagne, who are as distant as the west is from the east. The passage of Sulpicius Severus is interpolated, as noted in the edition of Vorstius and Le Clerc. Sidonius Apollinaris, about 480, is the first real authority for Britons in Bretagne, *super Ligerim* ; and there is a curious epistle of his to Riethamus, their king.

passed into this island, and gave a general name to the whole, though they themselves afterwards split into different nations. The first name of Britain was Albion, as it long continued to be called. The name Britain must to all appearance be sought for in the Belgic, the Gothic, tongue.

Upon the whole, the Cumri were apparently confined to the west of Britain, and that part between the walls. The south and east were held by Belgæ, and perhaps other Germans, long before Cæsar's time. Nay, even in the parts still inhabited by Celts, the Germans had, no doubt, many settlements; as the European settlers in America have not only large tracts wholly peopled by themselves, but also towns and forts among the savages. Thus in Gaul the Veneti, in the western extremity of Celtica, were Belgæ, as Strabo informs; and in the extreme west of Britain stood Menapia, a town of the very same name with one among the Scythians, or Goths, beyond the Caspian, as we learn from Ptolemy. The conquest of Europe by the Goths, on the fall of the Roman empire, was the second, not the first, as shewn in the annexed Dissertation. At least three centuries before Christ, the Scythians, or Goths, had subdued, and peopled Europe, even to its furthest extremities, as there fully displayed. In Britain, the Cumraig, or Welsh, was called *lingua Britannica*, as in Gaul the Celtic was called *Gallica*, not as being the universal tongue, but as the old and peculiar speech of the earlier inhabitants. By *American languages* we imply not Spanish or English, but those of the ancient natives.

When the Piks and Irish broke in upon the North, the Cimbri, who held these parts, were the most exposed. The Belgæ had also been so lost in the luxuries of Rome, that they seem to have totally abandoned their character of the bravest of the Gauls, and

CHAPTER II.

The Tribes between the Tweed and Forth, Solway and Clyde.

THE tribes possessing that part of Scotland, which lies south of the Clyde and Forth, were four in number, namely, the *Selgovæ*, *Novantæ*, *Damnii*, and *Otadeni*. So they stood in Ptolemy's time, who wrote about 150 years after our era.

That these tribes were all Cimbric, or Welsh, is clear from Gildas, Beda, and others; and from the remains of them in the kingdom of Strat-Clyde. The *Britons* of Gildas and Beda, as all know, are the Welsh, the people whom Cæsar thought born in the island, as the Romans and Saxons knew nothing of the real aborigines, the Gael, who had all been driven to Ireland by the Welsh long before the arrival of the former. Now Gildas and Beda mark the Forth and Clyde, as the old boundaries between the Caledonians or Piks, and the Britons. They are indeed mistaken if they meanted that these rivers were the boundaries, when Agricola discovered Caledonia to the Romans. For at that time, and till the province of Vespasiana was abandoned by the Romans, the river Tay, on the east; the many lakes, Tay, Erne, Veol, Ketterin, Lomond, in the middle; and Loch Fyn, an arm of the sea, on the west; formed the boundary between the Caledonians or Piks, and Cumraig Britons. Tacitus mentions, that Agricola wasted the country as far as the Tay, three years before he marched against the Caledonians; and after his victory over Galgacus, returned to the country of the Horesti, in Fifeshire,

have been very little used by either Belgians or Welsh. The Old Saxon, and the Welsh, have not many Latin words. Tacitus, in *Agricola*, tells us indeed, that the *fili principes* of Britain used the Latin: and it seems to have been always confined to the upper ranks; for all Roman Britain did not produce one Latin author, though Spain and Gaul did many; as Mela, Lucan, Seneca, Martial, Sidonius, Ausonius, and others.

The tribes possessing that part of Scotland, which lies south of the Clyde and Forth, were known in Roman times, namely, the *Debori*, *Novantae*, *Manau*, and *Ordovices*. So they stood in Ptolemy's time, who wrote about 150 years after our era.

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who are not mentioned as Caledonians. Ptolemy also indicates the Lelamoni^{us} Sinus, or Loch Fyn, as the southern boundary of the Caledonians. But more of this presently, in speaking of the Damnii. After the province Vespasiana was abandoned, in the second century, the Caledonians, or Pìks, seized all the country down to the wall of Antoninus, or Clyde and Forth; whence Gildas and Beda regard these rivers as the boundary.

Ptolemy's geography of Scotland is peculiarly embarrassed; and, by his bending that country to the east, his whole longitudes and latitudes become false of course. Richard of Cirencester preserves the real position of the country; but what dependence, in such matters, can be had upon a writer of the fourteenth century? He differs from Ptolemy in many essential points, concerning England and Ireland, as well as Scotland; and, wherever he does so, must, by every rule of historic authority, be presumed in the wrong; for to set his authority against that of Ptolemy would be the height of absurdity. All we can do therefore is, to adjust Ptolemy's account as well as possible.

From Gossellin's letter it appears, 1. That the general circumference of Scotland in Ptolemy's map is tolerably accurate; whence, in the opinion of that celebrated French geographer, the itinerary measures used in the delineation may be depended upon. 2. That Ptolemy having assumed the latitude of Thule at nearly 63° , and fixed the longest day in Thule at twenty hours, was constrained by this theory to bend Scotland to the east, there being otherwise no space for its real extent. For having carried *Vedera* to $58^{\circ} 30'$ instead of 55° , if Scotland had been truly laid down, Cape Orcas would have been 64° , or one degree farther north than Thule;¹ while he knew that

¹ Dunsby Head is nearly $58^{\circ} 40'$.

both the Orkneys, and the northern part of Britain, were to the south of Thule; so that the truth was sacrificed to a mathematical theory founded on false premises.

Richard places a fifth tribe, the *Gadeni*, on the south of the Forth; whereas Ptolemy puts them on the north of Clyde, in present Dunbartonshire. It is sufficient to say, that Ptolemy must be right, and Richard must be wrong; for the latter compared with the former is no authority at all. Ptolemy's text expressly bears, that the *Gadeni* lay to the north of the *Damnii*, Γαδηνοὶ δὲ ἀρκτικωτέροι; whereas Richard places them on the south-east of the *Damnii*. Ptolemy supposes the north to be the east of Scotland; and, of course, his *north* is the west, not the east, as Richard infers. By Ptolemy's longitudes and latitudes, and the maps drawn in consequence of his description, the *Gadeni* are on the east, that is, the north in reality, of the Κλωτὰ εἰσχυσις, or Firth of Clyde. Richard makes *Curia* the town of the *Gadeni*, whereas Ptolemy gives it to the *Otadeni*; and I suspect Richard has been misled by a hasty perusal of Ptolemy's text, which runs in this order;

“ The *Gadeni* are more northward: the *Otadeni* more south; among whom are these towns,
Curia,
Bremenium.”

All interpreters agree that these two towns belong to the *Otadeni*; and not one of them, *Curia* to the *Gadeni*, and the other *Bremenium*, to the *Otadeni*, as Richard understands. From both Ptolemy and Richard, it is clear that *Curia* lay far south of Forth; and could never belong to the *Gadeni*, whom Ptolemy places north of Clyde. The position of all the other tribes laid down by Ptolemy agrees with Richard, if you only turn up Ptolemy's map, so as to make his west the

north. One cause of Richard's error was his taking Curia for a town of the Gadeni, as just mentioned. Another is, that he puts the Attacotti too far south-east, in place of Ptolemy's Gadeni, while the Attacotti were not in Caledonia till A. D. 258, as afterwards shewn, when they came from Ireland ; and are unknown in Roman history till the fourth century. Hence Richard, having no room for the Gadeni in their real station, was forced to imagine another place for them. Whereas, if we suppose Richard right in placing the Gadeni south of Forth, a blank will be left in Ptolemy between Clota and Lelamonius, while all the rest of his Caledonia is duly filled. No one the least versant in such matters, can for a moment put Richard's authority against Ptolemy's ; but, when so many other arguments favour Ptolemy, it would be absurd even to doubt ; and we may regard it as fixed, that the Gadeni were on the north of the Clyde.

Let us therefore consider the four tribes, south of Forth and Clyde. To begin on the west side, and from the south, first were the ΣΕΛΓΟΤΑΙ, *Selgovæ*, in Dumfries-shire, part of Kircudbright, &c. In their territories, Ptolemy mentions these towns, Καρβαντοριγον, *Carbantorigum* ; Ουξελλον, *Uxellum* ; Κορδα, *Corda* ; and Τριμοντιον, *Trimontium*. The first is thought Kircudbright, the second, Castle Over ; the third was the most northern town of the *Selgovæ*, but cannot be fixed ; the fourth, it is thought, lay near Eildon Hills, which have three remarkable summits, and where there are ruins of a Roman station. Among the *Selgovæ* were also the Ιτουνα εισχυσις, *Ituna æstuarium*, or Solway Firth ; and the rivers Νουιος and Δηουα, *Novius* and *Deva*, or Nith and Dee.

Next, on the west were the ΝΟΤΑΝΤΑΙ, *Novantæ*, in Wigtonshire, and the south of Airshire ; who had two towns, Λουκοπιβια, *Leucopibia*, and Ρετιγονιον, *Reti-*

gonium.¹ The former certainly Whithern, as Richard rightly says, Candida Casa. The second apparently Stranrawer. The Novantæ also had on the south the *Ιένα εἰσχυρίς*, *Iena æstuarium*, now Wigton bay; and *Αβραουάννος ποταμός*, *Abrauvannus fluvius*, or more properly *Sinus*, as Richard, now Glenluce bay. On the west, the *Νουάντων Χερσονήσος*, *Novantum Chersonesus*, now the Rinns of Galloway; the *Περιγονίος Κόλπος*, *Rerigonius Sinus*, now Loch Ryan. As the town Retigonium stood on this bay, and gave it name, either the bay or town is erroneously called; and Richard terms the town Rerigonium, rightly as would seem. The Novantæ had also the *Ουιδόγαρα Κόλπος*, *Vidogara Sinus*, believed to be Air bay.

The ΔΑΜΝΙΟΙ, *Damnii*, were next on the north of the two former. This nation was by far the most important of the four; and possessed the north of present Airshire, Renfrew, Lanark, Linlithgow, and Stirling, shires. They were the frontier nation of Cumraig Britons; and on the north of them were the Caledonians or Piks. The wall of Antoninus, as is clear from Ptolemy and Richard, ran through the territories of the *Damnii*; and the latter says, that the *Damnii* in consequence lost all their territory on the north of that wall, which was seized by the Caledonians. The *Damnii*, by Ptolemy's account, had no less than six towns; *Κολανία*, *Colania*; *Ουανδουαρα*, *Vanduara*; *Κορία*, *Coria*; *Αλαυνα*, *Alauna*; *Λινδον*, *Lindum*; *Βικτωρία*, *Victoria*. Richard gives the three last towns to the Horesti; but adds, that before the wall of Antonine was built, the Horesti were esteemed part of the *Damnii*. In fact, the Horesti of Tacitus are unknown to Ptolemy, who marks their towns as of the *Damnii*; and it is apparent, that the Caledonians were not possessed of Fifeshire, or the land

¹ The Berigonium of Boyce, and fables applied to an old pier.

of the Horesti, till after the province of Vespasiana was abandoned. Tacitus mentions, that Agricola wasted the country up to Tay, three years before he went against the Caledonians; and that after conquering Galgacus, and his Caledonians, he went back to the lands of the Horesti, and it appears that the Horesti were not Caledonians. By Ptolemy's description, the Caledonians began on the south, at the Sinus Lelamoniæ, or Loch Fyn. Of the above towns, Colonia is thought Lanark; Vanduara, Paisley; Coria, Borthwick Castle; Alauna, Kier near Stirling; Lindum, Ardoch; Victoria, Perth, or according to others, Dalgin Ross. The Κλωτα εἰσχυσις, *Clota æstuarium*, or Firth of Clyde, was in the territory of the Damnii.

The Ὀταδῆνοι, *Otadeni*, were in the Lothians, Berwickshire, Peebles, and Northumberland. They had two towns, Κουρία, *Curia*; and Βρεμενιον, *Bremenium*; both, as appears from Ptolemy and Richard, south of Tweed, the former somewhere in Roxburghshire; the latter is thought Rochester in Northumberland. It is surprising that there were no towns in the Lothians and Berwickshire, now the most fertile parts of Scotland. Among the Otadeni were the Βοδερια εἰσχυσις, *Boderia æstuarium*, or Firth of Forth, and river Αλαυνος, *Alaunus*, or Alne in Northumberland.

Of these tribes it is most likely that those on the south and east, the Selgovæ and Otadeni, were a continuation of those Cimbric nations which held all the north of present England. Those on the west, or the Damnii and Novantæ, we may well suppose, were a part of the old Cimbric inhabitants of the whole of Scotland; and who came into these parts, after their expulsion by the Picts, about 200 years before Christ, either finding the country vacant, or possessed by Gael, whom they expelled, or being allow-

ed these provinces by their brethren in the south. The Damnii were perhaps the Tuath de Dannan, of the Irish Annals, who passed from Scotland into Ireland. The Novantæ seem merely a part of the Damnii, as the Trinobantes were of the Belgæ, and the Dumnonii of the Silures. The name Novantæ, if we for once believe the Celtic etymologists, means New-comers, or Strangers; and we may reasonably suppose it given to those Cumri of North Britain who first came down upon their brethren, the old possessors, and of course went furthest to the south.

Richard places a tribe called *Damnii Albani*, a people, he says, little known, and surrounded with lakes and mountains, in that part of Scotland which lies between Loch Tay and Loch Lomond; in which indeed there are vast mountains, and about seven considerable lakes, Dochart, Erne, Veol, Lubnich, Ketterin, Achry, Venachar. It deserves great attention, that these Damnii Albani, and their neighbours, the *Attacotti*, are the only nations to be found in old Scotland which occur in Richard, and not in Ptolemy. This leads us to conclude with certainty, that neither of these nations was in Scotland in Ptolemy's time. The Attacotti, as shall be afterwards shewn, were the Dalreudini, or first Irish settlers, mentioned by Beda, who were really the first Irish Scots who ever settled there, and who were thence called by the Britons Atta-Cotti, or Hither-Scots, to distinguish them from the Scots of Ireland. The first settlement of the Attacotti, or Dalreudini, in Scotland, happened about the year 258; and, as the Damnii Albani and they are the only nations in all Scotland mentioned by Richard, but unknown to Ptolemy, it is most reasonable to infer, that these Damnii Albani were a part of the Tuath de Dannan, which returned from Ireland with the Attacotti, and were called Albani, or Mountaineers, to distinguish them from the other

Damnii. At the same time, if any one chuses rather to believe that these Damnii had, in their country so inaccessible, because of mountains and lakes, as Richard says, defended themselves against the Picts to a late period, there is little objection, save that this idea is not so probable as the former.

The Selgovæ seem to have acknowledged the superiority of the Brigantes, for in Annandale was found a statue inscribed to the Goddess Brigantia, as an inscription to her was found near Chester, another in Yorkshire; but war, or other accidents, may have transported these articles from one country to another. Tacitus informs us, in *Agricola*, that the Brigantes were the most numerous nation in Britain; that is, the Brigantes Proper, with the many Celtic tribes subject to them. The Romans were also chiefly stationed in their country, along the wall of Hadrian. No wonder, then, that they were more known to the Romans than any people in Britain. Tacitus informs us, that it was in the time of Vespasian that Petilius Cerialis subdued most of the Brigantes. Seneca in flattery ascribes the conquest of the Brigantes to Claudius, though the lieutenants of that prince only attacked the Brigantes, but did not subdue them.

Ille Britannos,	Scuta Brigantes	Nova Romanæ
Ultra vagi	Dare Romuleis	Jura securis
Littora ponti,	Colla catenis	11. Tremere Oceanum.
4. Et cæruleos	8. Jussit; et ipsum	

The *Scuta Brigantes* has puzzled the critics; and some absurdly propose to read *Scoto*.^{*} Juvenal, Sat.

^{*} The passage strikes at first as meaning "with blue shields." By poetic licence the singular may be used for the plural; and if so, it should be *cæruleo scuto*. But by the same licence the passage may remain: Virgil has *cætera Graius* for *quod ad cætera*; so *cæruleos scuta*, *cæruleos quod ad scuta*; so *alia id genus*, and other phrases. It is a common Hellenism; *Σύρος τ' οὐνομα, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα*, where *καὶ* is understood. See Grammarians,

XIV. v. 197, mentions the *castella Brigantum*. These four tribes in the south of Scotland, the Selgovæ, Novantæ, Damnii, and Otadeni, seem all to have yielded to the Romans soon after Cerialis conquered the Brigantes; or, at any rate, in the first or second year of Agricola's command, for we find no mention of any battle fought with either of them, and Agricola began his northern progress in the third year of his command, by piercing to the Tay; as in the fourth he fortified the space between Clyde and Forth, and placed forces in that part of Scotland which is opposite to Ireland. If I mistake not, Tacitus has abridged the fame of Cerialis, thinking thereby to enhance that of Agricola, for he seems to have completely subdued the Brigantes.

After the wall of Hadrian was built, about A. D. 121, and that of Antoninus, about 140, the new name of MÆATÆ begins to arise for the nations between these walls. Etymology, when applied to names, which may have that origin among ten thousand which is least suspected by us, becomes very vague: that given of Mæatae is plausible, as all these Celtic scholars take care to make their etymologies. They say, that in the Celtic this word means Midlanders, a name which might naturally spring from the situation of the people between the walls, and between Roman Britain on one side, and Caledonia on the other.

Ptolemy in 150 knew nothing of this new name; and Pausanias, who wrote about the same time, seems, in total ignorance of Britain, to call the Mæatae Brigantes. In the beginning of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, or about the year 164, there were commotions in Britain, which Calphurnius Agricola was sent to quell; as we learn from Capitolinus, in his Life of Marcus. It seems probable, that Calphurnius had no success; and that it was at this time that Vespasiana was left, if not the other province,

north of Hadrian's wall. For no inscriptions but of the reign of Pius have been found at his wall; and soon after this, we find the tribes between the walls had thrown off the Roman yoke, and bore the independent name of Mæataë. Dio, in narrating the reign of Commodus, shews that, about the year 183, both the Caledonians and Mæataë had broken in upon the empire; and, after harassing the provinces, killed a Roman general who opposed them. And that, though repulsed by the general Marcellus, they continued in arms, till Severus the emperor came himself in 207 against them.

In relating the expedition of Severus, Dio mentions the Mæataë; and describes them and the Caledonians as the only nations in Britain not subject to Rome. The former acted under the protection of the latter. Severus over-ran both the Mæataë and Caledonians, though with the almost incredible loss of 50,000 men; a loss which no Roman army ever sustained in any other expedition. Yet was he hardly returned to York, when the Caledonians first, as Dio says, and then the Mæataë, were again in arms. Invincible nations, will some say, and worthy to contend with Rome! But a more sober reader will rather wish that, for the lasting advantage of Scotland, every part of it had received, along with the yoke, the cultivation of Rome.

Severus dying at York in 211, his son Caracalla made a disgraceful peace with the Caledonians and Mæataë. "From that time forward," says Innes, "it appears the Caledonians possessed themselves of a part of the lands of the Mæataë, or, rather united to the Mæataë, shared in their possessions, to the south of the firths, till Theodosius reduced that country into a province about 370." I wish this accurate

¹ Dio, lib. 76; but Dio is a false and ignorant author.

writer had mentioned his authority for this idea ; for my part, I know of none : but this must be examined when we come to speak of the extent of the Pikish dominions.

Certain it is, that we find no mention of the Mæatae after this peace of Caracalla ; hardly any thing being to be found concerning Britain for a century and a half, till 360, when we find the Piks acting in conjunction with the Scots or Irish. About the year 290, Carausius, and after him Constantius Chlorus, are said to have carried on war in the north of Britain. For the former we have no better authority than Nennius ; but the latter might be shewn from the Panegyrics. The Britons subdued by Constantius were in all appearance the Mæatae ; and being nearest the Roman provinces, they must have borne the whole brunt of war ; and appear, by this conflict, and irregular incursions of the Romans into their country, to have been extremely diminished, and confined to the north parts along the friths. The Piks upon this had recourse to the alliance of the Old Scots of Ireland ; and the Mæatae seem to have had no further concern in their expeditions, than by allowing them to pass their grounds into the Roman territory. About 370, Theodosius erecting the country of the Mæatae into the province of Valentia, the remains of these people soon became as peaceable as the southern Britons.

CHAPTER III.

The Walls.

INNES, in his laudable Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of North Britain, has given an accurate account of the Roman walls in Britain; and I shall in this list do little more than follow him. These walls were in two distant places; namely, between the Clyde and Forth, and between the Solway and Tyne. The last properly belongs to England; but, as there is a necessary connexion between them, both shall be considered together in chronological order.

1. Agricola, as Tacitus informs in his life, raised a line of forts between the firths of Clyde and of Forth, *Glotta* and *Bodotria*. So that *summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus*, “the enemies being removed as into another island,” the whole of Britain south of these firths should be regarded as a quiet province. This was in the year 81.

2: That frontier was quickly lost, and Hadrian thought proper, in the year 121, to build a wall between Solway and Tyne, thus retiring eighty miles. That Hadrian’s wall stood here is clear from Spartian, who says it was eighty miles long, whereas the space

* We are not hereby to understand that this line of forts formed the frontier between the Southern Britons and Caledonians; for the latter held only the parts down to Tay and Loch Fyn, as above shewn. If Richard may be trusted, Agricola built *Victoria* on the Tay; and the space between the line of forts and the Caledonians, was surely, at any rate, an advanced frontier, guarded by stations of light troops, as was afterward the case when the wall of Antoninus was built.

between Clyde and Forth exceeds not thirty. Nor has the situation of this wall been questioned ; as inscriptions put it beyond a doubt.

3. ANTONINUS PIUS recovered the first barrier by the great success of Lollius Urbicus his general ; and a wall was built on the line of Agricola's forts, between the Clyde and Forth. This wall of Antoninus, built about the year 140, was soon abandoned ; for, as Horsley observes, not an inscription has ever been found near it but what refers to Antoninus Pius and his reign.

4. In 210 Severus again withdrew the boundary, and built a new wall between Solway and Tyne ; for that this was the place of his wall appears from the historians, as Innes shews. Buchanan, and others, are therefore mistaken in placing it between Clyde and Forth.

5. In 367, the Emperor Valentinian I. sent over Theodosius his general (father of Theodosius I.) to Britain, against the Piks and Scots ; who not only repelled them, but seized on the lands between the walls, and erected them into a province by the name of Valentia. He strongly fortified its northern border, between Clyde and Forth ; and, as Richard says, built Theodosia, or Dunbarton, as a strong hold and frontier town. Hence this was considered by Beda, and others, as the grand limit between the Britons and Piks.

6. Stilicho, as Claudian informs, added fortifications to this barrier, about 398.

7. The Romans having abandoned Britain about the year 409, the Britons, about 421, requested their assistance against the Piks and Scots. They arrived, and repelled the enemy ; and caused the Britons to build a turf wall on the march, between Clyde and Forth, as the former had been thrown down. Beda, Lib. I. c. 12. gives a distinct account of this wall,

which reached from Alcluyd, or Dunbarton, to a place about two miles west of Abercorn, called, as Beda says, Peanvahel in the Pikish tongue, Peneltun in Saxon. Nennius says, it was called Pengaul in British, Cenail in Scottish, or Irish, Penultun in English: this place where the wall ends, is now, as Gordon says, called Cair-in, and is just two miles west of Abercorn. But Gordon confounds the wall of Antoninus with this wall.

8. The last, and most important, wall ever built in Britain, according to Beda's account, was that raised by the Romans, who again, under the command of GALLIO, came to assist the Britons against their old enemies, the Piks and Scots, about the year 426. This was of solid stone, and built between the Solway and Tyne, as Beda says; who adds, that it ran hard by Hagustaldum, or Hexham, in Northumberland. Gildas¹ says of this wall, that it passed *a mari usque ad mare, inter urbes quæ ibidem forte ob metum hostium collocatæ fuerunt*, "from sea to sea among the towns which had been erected there, for fear of the enemy." These towns were the Roman stations on the southern wall.

Thus, of these walls, FIVE were on the northern frontier, or between the Clyde and Forth in Scotland: and THREE were in England, between Solway and Tyne.

¹ Cap. 14. murum (non ut alterum) SUMPTU PUBLICO PRIVATOQUE, adjunctis secum miserabilibus indigenis, solito structuræ more, tramite a mari, &c. This passage, like all the dark Celtic work of Gildas, is confused and obscure: *non ut alterum* refers to the turf wall, cap. 12. *solito*, I suspect, should be *solido*. Beda uses the words of Gildas, *a mari ad mare recto tramite inter urbes*, &c. and adds FIRMO DE LAPIDE. Gildas, describing the turf wall, 421, c. 12. says, it was erected *trans insulam*; and Keith, in the preface to his Scottish Bishops, infers, that Caledonia was considered as another island; forgetting that *trans* implies *across*, as well as *beyond*. Classical interpretation must not be applied to writers not classic; but the *media et infima Latinitas* must be studied.

These three southern walls were raised by Hadrian, Severus, and Gallio : the first as would seem of turf ; for Capitolinus, mentioning the wall of Pius, says, *alio muro cespitio*, “another turf wall,” which implies the former, or that of Hadrian, to have been also of turf. These turf walls had foundations, and towers of stone ; and large ditches. The wall of Severus was thought to be of stone, as Aurelius Victor puts it as a greater work than all his conquests ; which would have been ridiculous, if he only repaired the turf wall of Hadrian. If so, Gallio seems only to have repaired the wall of Severus. But of this afterwards.

The five northern walls begin with Agricola’s line of forts ; then the turf wall of Antoninus ; next that of Theodosius, which seems but a reparation ; the additional forts of Stilicho ; and the turf wall of the Britons. There never was a stone wall here ; and that ascribed to Severus seems the only stone wall erected.

The wall of Severus is a singular monument ; for, though he had penetrated to the very extremity of Caledonia, yet he was contented to resign a large tract of country ; while there seems no reason against his building the wall at the northern frontier. The glory of building a long wall certainly was not equal to the shame of resigning a territory ; so that vanity could not be his inducement. Yet his historians say he acquired a territory. A palpable contradiction ! If any writer were to deny that Severus built any wall, it would be difficult to answer him ; for certain it is, that both Herodian and Dio, who wrote so near his time, are utterly silent about this glory of his reign. Spartian, a weak writer in the time of Diocletian, near a century after Severus, is the first who mentions it ; and what the state of historical knowledge then was may be judged from the beginning of the life of Probus, by Vopiscus, in the same

Collection.¹ Vopiscus is the best of these authors, and lived under Diocletian; and he says that, for want of writers, the actions and memory of Probus had almost perished! That is in a space of *twelve* or *fourteen* years.

Yet it must be considered, that the tract between the walls might be regarded itself as a real advanced frontier, to be inhabited by his subjects, at their risk, but upon no account to be entered by the enemy. These Roman walls seem by no means to have been the direct and absolute frontiers, but only protections for the agricultors, and peaceful subjects. Beyond them were apparently exploratory camps, and stations; and large bodies of men, who lived by hunting and fishing, and had no property to raise their fears. If we trust Richard, there was a whole province, Vespasiana, beyond the wall of Antoninus. Horsley observes, from inscriptions, &c. that the Romans, even in the time of Severus, possessed grounds north of his wall. According to all appearance therefore, though Severus might build this wall, yet he regarded that of Antoninus as the actual direct frontier. He might build his wall, to protect the cultivated lands; leaving his soldiers, and some roving Britons, to guard themselves, without the wall, or within it, at pleasure. Caracalla was forced after his father's death in 211, to make a disgraceful peace with the Caledonians, and to give up part of what his father had gained.²

¹ Hist. Augustæ Scriptores.

² Mr Gordon, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, takes the Catrail, running from Melrose, south-west, for the boundary fixed by Caracalla; but it is necessary to inform the reader, that Gordon unhappily took a way for a wall. See remarks on the Catrail, in the *Reliquiæ Galeanæ*. General Roy, who has examined the Roman antiquities in Scotland with great care, found no wall where Gordon marks; but a military road. See his *Description of Roman Antiquities in Scotland*, with fine drawings, MS. in the Royal Library, 2 vols. folio.

The northern frontier was never held for any time. The forts of Agricola were abandoned in a short space. Hadrian, in 121, built the south wall. Antoninus, after the Picts had been driven back, built the north wall, about 140, which seems to have remained the barrier only for about the remaining space of his reign, or 21 years, for no later inscriptions have been found. In 211 Caracalla withdrew the frontier. In 367 it was first placed for any time at the northern wall, and continued till 426, when it was again drawn south.

Theodosius, in 367, may be regarded as the chief acquirer of the territory between the walls; and he erected it into a province, which was held till the Romans finally abandoned Britain. After the Christian religion was embraced by Constantine, few or no Roman inscriptions are to be found, as may be seen in Gruter. It is therefore no wonder that no inscriptions of, or after, the time of Theodosius should be found in the northern frontier; nor of, or after, that of Gallio in the southern.

Mr Whitaker has shewn that the Roman walls were by no means the positive boundaries of the Roman domain, in Britain. But his arguments are a little confused, for no one ever doubted, that Valentia was held by the Romans till their final departure. The point was to shew, that the Romans had stations and settlements beyond what was regarded as the barrier; as beyond the wall of Antoninus, during the reign of Antoninus, and beyond that of Hadrian in his reign. Horsley has shewn in particular, that Netherby, to the north of Hadrian's wall, was a Roman station in the reign of that emperor. If we believe Richard, the province Vespasiana existed beyond the wall of Antoninus: but few Roman inscriptions have been found to the north of this wall. Arthur's Oven, a Roman work, stood to the north of it. But this must

be examined when we come to speak of the province Vespasiana. We know not what force was stationed at the wall of Antoninus in his time. Nay, though we might believe, that, after Theodosius founded the province of Valentia, and he and Stilicho fortified its northern frontier, the chief Roman force should have been maintained at this frontier; yet from the *Notitia* and *Itineraries*, if we trust modern interpretation, it appears that the whole Roman troops were still stationed at the wall of Severus. The reasons of antiquaries are often fantastic; and it may be strongly suspected that the stations mentioned in the *Notitia*, as *per lineam valli*, were along the northern frontier, and the coast opposite to Ireland. Certain it is, that the *Vallum* of Richard and the *Itinerary*, ascribed to an Antoninus, but written in the fourth or fifth century, is the northern frontier; not the southern, which was *Murus*, as *Ad Murum*, or Newcastle, &c. and it is most reasonable to suppose, that, in the *Notitia*, *Vallum* has the same acceptation.

If the reader will carefully examine those who have placed these stations at the wall of Severus, he will find that they have not much foundation. Horsley and Warburton¹ have said all that can be stated on this subject; and they seem to have taken the matter for granted. The sole *coincidences* (for they cannot be called arguments) which they produce, are, that by beginning the stations in the *Notitia* at the east end of the wall, they find inscriptions by two troops, the *Cohors Prima Tungrorum* and the *Prima Ælia Dacorum*, at places which, by their account, answer to *Borcovicum* and *Amboglanna*, where these

¹ Mr Warburton (not the bishop,) in his *Vallum Romanum, or Picts Wall*, London, 1753, 4to. The title is improper, for the wall of Antoninus was especially called *Vallum*; that of Severus, as imagined, or Picts Wall, was termed *Murus*.

troops are placed in the Notitia. But unhappily this argument will weigh nothing, when we reflect that these very inscriptions are dedicative of altars to Jupiter, and other gods; and by the form of the letters, and other marks, seem as early as Hadrian's reign. At any rate they must have preceded the Notitia by more than a century; for after Constantine I. the whole armies of Rome were Christian, as appears from the *labarum* on medals, and many other tokens; and no altars to heathen gods could be erected. So that these coincidences are matters of chance, not of argument; though indeed it be much to be suspected that the inscriptions led to the idea of fixing the troops at the stations. And it must be added, that an inscription by one of these troops was found at the other end of the wall; for which Horsley accounts, by saying it was first stationed there, and after moved. Inscriptions, by no less than three of the cohorts mentioned in the Notitia, have unluckily been also found along the wall of Scotland; namely, the *Prima Batavorum*, the *Prima Hispanorum*, and the *Prima Tungrorum*.

Arguments there also are for the stations in the Notitia not being at the southern frontier. For 1. Not one name of a station in the Notitia in the least coincides with the modern ones in Northumberland. 2. Not one inscription can be found which mentions the name of a single station. 3. *Luguvallium*, the greatest station on the southern frontier, is not to be found in the Notitia; and Horsley, &c. are obliged to suppose it alone deserted! 4. *Pons Ælii* never was a name for Newcastle, which in all the Itineraries is called *Ad Murum*. These arguments are sufficient to shew that there is no foundation for placing these stations at the southern frontier; and the two last seem to evince that they could not be there.

Other arguments might also be brought for these

stations of the Notitia being along the northern frontier ; for the province of Valentia was founded in 367 ; and it appears from Beda and others, that it was kept till the Romans left Britain about 409, and some years after : it is reasonable to infer, that the fortified frontier, or *Vallum*, when the Notitia was compiled, was to the north of this province. It is not to be supposed that a single trace, or inscription of these troops, can be found, for hardly an inscription appears after Constantine I. through the whole Roman empire. Besides, they only continued forty years ; whereas, had they remained at the southern frontier for three centuries, as supposed, it might be expected that the name of some one station, in the Notitia, might have found its way into an inscription, or the Itineraries : but this is not the case. On the whole, the point with regard to these stations of the Notitia stands thus : 1. Antiquaries have taken it as granted, that they were at the southern wall ; but this is no argument. 2. As they manage the matter, two inscriptions have been found, which coincide as above stated ; but they are obliged to pass one which is fully against them : and three inscriptions of the same troops have been found in Scotland, which more than balance the others. 3. There are positive and direct arguments, that the *Vallum* of the Notitia is not the southern barrier, for No *Luguvallium*, though the most noted station on that barrier, is mentioned in the Notitia, and No *Ad Murum*, or Newcastle. And there is no argument whatever against its being the northern: for Theodosia, or Dunbarton, is beyond the end of the wall which is at Dunglas ; and the stations, if in Scotland, must have run south of the two firths of Clyde and Forth.

It is a pity this point is rather uncertain, for if the stations were really upon the northern barrier, as seems most reasonable to suppose, antiquaries have

hitherto been much mistaken. And if they were on the southern, it would be a most curious fact ; as it would shew that the Romans did not fortify the extremity of their real possessions, but had actually a military province beyond the wall at all times ; as Vespasiana, beyond the wall of Antoninus ; and Valentia, beyond that of Hadrian.

Upon the most mature examination, there is some room to infer, that Severus built no wall in Britain, nor raised any rampart. Dio and Herodian, who lived near his time, both writing under Alexander Severus, about twelve years after the death of Severus, though they narrate his life and smallest actions at great length, are quite silent as to this. Spartian, who wrote in a most ignorant age, about a hundred years after, is the first who mentions it ; and he is followed by Aurelius Victor, and others. All historians agree that Severus gained territory, so that he could not withdraw the frontier. Though the wall be of solid stone, and a surprising monument of Roman power, yet is there not the smallest inscription to be found in honour of Severus ; while, in the northern turf wall, the inscriptions in honour of Antoninus Pius are numerous. Only one inscription mentioning Severus has been found in Northumberland, or, as is believed, in Britain ; and it is No. 109 in Horsley, which was discovered at Hexham, considerably south of the wall ; and it only refers to building some fort or temple. The inscriptions in the wall, and its ruins, refer almost wholly to the centuries, and cohorts, who built it ; and they are short, as CENT. V. or the like, and rudely engraved. For these reasons full assent may be given to Beda, that this stone wall was built by Gallio ; though that venerable writer be mistaken, in saying that Severus had formerly raised a turf rampart here, following in this the errors of Spartian and Victor. As to the

Welsh name of *Gual Sever*, which, it is said, they give to the wall in the north of England, it is also given to that between the firths of Scotland; and vulgar appellations are so vague and foolish, that no man of sound sense can rest even a straw upon them. It may be inferred therefore, that there are but two lines of fortification here; namely, that of Hadrian, of turf and stone, with double ditches before it; and that of Gallio, of solid free stone, nearly eight feet thick, raised by the joint contributions of the Britons, who sacrificed to their fears every consideration of expence. They soon found that no walls can defend cowardice; and ought to have remembered the Spartan apophthegm of Agesilaus, who, being asked where were the walls of Sparta, pointed to his soldiers, and said *There*.

The northern barrier more peculiarly concerns my present labour. If the reader wishes to see plans and descriptions at large, he is referred to Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, or Horsley's *Britannia Romana*. It shall only be here remarked, that it is of turf, upon a stone foundation; and is about four yards thick. It can be traced from Dunclas, near Dunbarton, to Cairiden, two miles east of Kinneil. The inscriptions found near it are far superior in elegance to those found in the southern frontier. Horsley also observes, that they much excel the latter in two other respects; because they mention the emperor by whose order the wall was built, and the quantity done at each part by each legion, or vexillation. The legions employed were the XXth *Valens Victrix*, the IIId *Augusta*, and the VIth *Victrix*. Three legions, if complete with the auxiliaries of each, &c. would amount to thirty-six thousand men. The inscriptions found along the wall of Antoninus were numerous in Horsley's time, or fifty years ago; since the canal was dug, they are much increased.

The inscriptions found in Northumberland equal in number those of Cumberland, and all the rest of England put together. Those found along the wall of Antoninus will now equal those found in Northumberland, or half of those found in all England. Had Severus, whose medals are so fine and various, and in whose reign the arts flourished not a little, had he built this wall, every part of it would have been filled with his glory; whereas, not one hint can be found from inscriptions that this vast work is his. Reason, as well as the authority of Beda, will therefore vindicate our ascribing this prodigious monument to Gallio, and the fears of the Britons; for fear is, of all passions, the most extravagant, and will throw even gold and diamonds into the sea.

CHAPTER IV.

The Province of Valentia.

THE history of a frontier is ever confused. The perpetual changes it undergoes, like the waves of a troubled ocean, prevent any distinct reflection of the sun of truth. A silent desert, or a scene of blood ; or now possessed by one nation, now by another ; it is impossible to derive order from confusion, or knowledge where materials must be wanting.

The southern part of Scotland, from the rivers Clyde and Forth, to those of Solway and Tyne, thus including also a part of Northumberland, may be regarded, during the Roman times, as merely a large frontier. About the year 78, the nations who held it, namely the Selgovæ, Novantes, Damnii, and Ota-deni, had either been vanquished by Cerialis, or had voluntarily submitted to Agricola. A great part of the Damnii, and Brigantes, now went into Ireland, as Richard says ; and as the names given by Ptolemy and him prove.

Britain, being effectually subdued by Agricola, seems to have remained quiet till the reign of Hadrian, or about forty years. In the beginning of Hadrian's reign, as his biographer¹ says, the Britons could not be kept under the Roman power ; and Richard tells us, that both the provinces Vespasiana and Mæata were then broken. In 121, he built the southern wall, seeming silently to relinquish both

¹ Spartian. apud Hist. Aug. Script.

these provinces. But nineteen years after, Antoninus Pius recovered Mæata, and built his wall on the northern frontier.

About the year 164, Calphurnius Agricola was sent into Britain, by Marcus Antoninus, to quell some commotions,¹ apparently in the north; but his success is doubtful, for no inscriptions but of Pius occur in the northern wall; so that it would seem that all between the walls was now lost. In the time of Commodus, about 183, the Mæatæ were again in arms; and continued not only in freedom, but to insult the southern frontier, till Severus arrived in 207. In 211, Caracalla seems to have left the Mæatæ in full possession of this province; for it is clear from inscriptions, that the Roman forces continued at the southern barrier.

About 290, Constantius seems to have reduced the Mæatæ; and their numbers appear to have been much diminished, for when we again find British affairs mentioned, their name never occurs. We have indeed no mention of the Mæatæ after 211; but this is owing to the silence of Roman writers concerning Britain, from 211 to 360, save a few hints of the Panegyrics.

In 360, we learn from Ammianus,² that the Scots and Piks were wasting the parts of Britain next to the frontier. And in 364, he says the Piks, Saxons, Scots, and Attacots, molested the Britons with constant incursions; and in 367, that the Piks, divided into two nations, the Dicaledones and Vecturiones, and also the Attacots, wasted the British provinces. When Theodosius, the general, arrived, about the

¹ Imminebat etiam Britannicum bellum; et Catti in Germaniam ac Rhetiam irruperant. Et adversus Britannos quidem Calphurnius Agricola missus est; contra Cattos Aufidius Victorinus. *Capitolinus in Marco*, ib.

² Lib. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII.

latter year, he found the Piks and Attacots advanced even to London and Kent. Driving them back, he pursued them to the firths; and, recovering all the land between the walls, he made it a province, under the new name of VALENTIA, from Valens the emperor.

This province remained in possession of the Romans forty-two years, till 409, when they left Britain. Upon this the Piks and Scots rushed in, and again ravaged all till 421, when the Romans assisted the Britons to repel them; and the Britons again built or repaired the wall between Clyde and Forth, as Beda shews. But this barrier had no avail; and, about five years after, the Romans, under Gallio, came, for the last time, to assist the Britons, and built the grand wall between Solway and Tyne. The Piks and Scots then seized on all Valentia up to the new wall, as Beda¹ shews; but having met with some defeats from the Britons, the Scots went home to Ireland, while the Piks continued quiet in their new possessions.

¹ Revertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum, post non multum tempus reversuri. Picti in extrema parte insulae tunc primum, et deinceps, quieverunt; praedas tamen nonnunquam exinde, et contritiones, de Britonum gente agere non cessarunt, L. 14.

CHAPTER V.

The Kingdom of Strat-Clyde.

WE are now arrived at the most obscure and difficult part of the whole Scottish history: and as I have in consequence given it the greatest labour and attention, so I must desire the reader to watch my steps with a severe eye; and judge for himself, on the materials which shall here be furnished with the utmost impartiality, and which, it is presumed, are all that can be found upon this subject.

As the ancient Lives of Saints must now be quoted for the first time, the reader is requested to observe that this evidence is universally admitted, by the learned of all countries and religions, as irrefragable, with regard to historic and geographic facts. And rightly; for there could be no possible temptation to fiction in these articles; but, on the contrary, every inducement to preserve these grand features exactly, in order to colour their ridiculous tales. A Life of a Saint may be regarded as a religious novel; in which, though the miracles be fiction, the geography and history are always real. In the grand collection of the French historians, executed with a care and magnificence worthy of a great nation, extracts from the ancient Lives of Saints are inserted under each century, or division, as equal vouchers with the ancient historians; and in that of the Danish historians, though executed by protestants, in a protestant country, the same plan is followed. Montesquieu and

Gibbon¹ have not disdained to found upon the Lives of Saints. But having said so much on this subject in the preface, let us return to our present object, after premising that the reader must not confound the kingdom of Strat-Clyde, the object of this chapter, with that of Cumbria, the object of the next; for, though this has almost universally been done hitherto, it is an error, as shall presently be shewn. The kingdom of Strat-Clyde included only Dunbarton, Renfrew, and the upper part of Lanarkshire. That of Cumbria comprized Cumberland and Westmoreland, in England. A space of only sixty miles lay between them; and it is no wonder that this proximity has occasioned their being confounded, as the materials concerning them are so barren.

In this chapter, I shall first produce all the authorities which can be found concerning the kingdom of Strat-Clyde, and then offer a few remarks. To proceed according to the chronological order of the writers quoted:

1. Adomnan, elected Abbot of Hyona in 679, wrote the Life of St Columba, the converter of the northern Picts, in three books. In Book I. of the MS. in the Royal Library, written in the 13th century, the fourteenth chapter runs thus:

“*A prophecy of the holy man, concerning King Roderic, the son of Totail, who reigned at Petra Cloithe,*”² (the rock of Clyde.)

“The same [Roderic] being a friend of the Saint [Columba] sent, at another time, a secret message to

¹ Esprit des Loix, XXX. 11. &c.

Mr Gibbon, Vol. VI. p. 95, 8vo. ed. says, “The ancient legends deserve some regard, as they are obliged to connect their fables with the real history of their own times.” He then quotes lives of saints, from the *Historiens de France*.

² De Rege RODERICO, filio Totail, qui Petra Cloithe regnavit beati viri propheta.

Alio IDEM in tempore, &c. MS. in Bibl. Reg. 8 D. IX.

him by Lugbeus Mocumin, wishing to know if he should be slain by his enemies, or not. Lugbeus, being asked by the saint concerning the same king, his kingdom and people, answered as in pity, Why do you ask me about this wretch, who can by no means know what hour he shall be slain by his enemies? The saint upon this said, He shall never be delivered into the hands of his enemies, but shall die in his house upon his own pillow. Which prophecy of the saint concerning the king was fulfilled. For, according to his word, he died an easy death in his own house."

It must be observed upon this quotation, that the titles of all the chapters of this work are infallibly put by Adomnan himself; for, without them, the chapters would often be unintelligible, as the above, among many, may shew; for Roderic is never mentioned before or after, and the beginning of the chapter refers to its title; as do many others in the work. Adomnan is indeed so exact, that, at the end of this performance, we find a solemn injunction 'not to alter a single word in transcribing. Yet has this work been altered in some parts; a few chapters being omitted in the MS. from which Canisius printed it, which are to be found here; and a few are omitted here, which may be found in Canisius. The work, when complete, contained all to be found, either in Canisius, or in this MS. as is evident from the style and connexion; and a genuine edition should be of equal extent, but ought chiefly to follow this MS. which is most ancient and correct.

"Admonitio Adomnani ad Scriptores. Obsecro eos quicunque voluerunt hos describere libellos, imo potius adjuro per Christum judicem sæculorum, ut, postea diligenter descripserint, conferant, et emendant, cum omni diligentia, ad exemplar unde extraxerunt; et hanc quoque adjurationem hoc in loco subscribant." Usher observes, that in this he imitates Irenæus, and Eusebius in his chronicle. *Usser Vet. Epist. Hib. Sylloge*, Dublin, 1632. 4to. p. 130.

2. Beda, who wrote in 731, mentions Alcluith, or Petra Cluith, as remaining, in his time, in the hands of the Britons.¹ He says it stood upon a river of the same name, the Cluith or Clyde; and his description is well known to refer to Dunbarton.

3. The life of Gildas, published by Mabillon, from a MS. in the library of Fleury Abbey, mentions that Gildas was born at Arclyd (read Alclyd) or Dunbritton; and that his father Caunus, or, as others call him, Navus, was king of that country, and was succeeded by his son Hoel.²

4. Asser, who wrote his Life of Alfred about the year 900, narrates, that in 875, Healfdene, with one half of the Danish army, marched into Northumberland, and wintered near the river Tyne. That he subdued all Northumberland, and wasted the lands of the Piks, and *Stratdutenses*. Read, as all other authors write, *Stratclutenses*, or those of Strat-Clyde; the *c* and *l* having coalesced into a *d*.

5. The Saxon Chronicle, which was written by different hands, from the eleventh century, down to the twelfth, throws several minute lights on the present subject. Under the year 875, it mentions that Healfden, or Haldan, the Danish general, wasted the country between the Piks and *Stræcled-Walli*, or Strat-Clyde Welsh. And under 924, it mentions that the king of Scotland revered Edward of England as his father; as did also the king of the *Stræcled-Welsh*.

6. In the twelfth century, a whole blaze of evidence opens upon this subject, as historians and other writers became then much more common in Britain. Florence of Worcester, who wrote about 1101, mentions the Strat-Clyde Welsh, in 875, as Asser does.

¹ Civitas Britonum munitissima usque hodie quæ vocatur Alcluith. I. 1. Alcluith, quod lingua eorum significat Petram Cluith; est enim juxta fluvium nominis illius. I. 12. et vide IV. 26.

² Vide Usserii Antiq. Eccl. Brit.

He also says, that in 901, Edward of England was acknowledged lord by the kings of the Scots, Cum-bri, Strat-Clyde Welsh, and those of the Western Britons, or Welsh. Florence also mentions them, under 921, on the same score, as do most historians who relate the reign of Edward the Elder, which lasted from 901 to 925.

7. Simeon of Durham, who wrote about 1164, mentions the Strat-Clyde Welsh, under 875, as Asser; and under 921, he says that the king of Scots, with all his people, and Regnal, king of the Danes, with the English and Danes living in Northumberland, and also the king of the Strat-Clyde Welsh, elected Edward king of England for their father and lord, and made a firm alliance with him.

8. On the shelf of ecclesiastic ambition, we may place the solemn deed, intituled *Inquisitio facta per David Principem Cumbriæ de possessionibus Ecclesiæ Glasguensis*, published by Sir James Dalrymple.¹ It was written about 1113, when David was prince of Cumberland, &c. in the reign of his brother Alexander I. About that time a part of Cumberland was added to the see of Glasgow, as we learn from the *Anglia Sacra*, p. 699. The zeal of David, afterward king of Scotland, for the church is well known; and to gratify it seems to have been his greatest pride. His zeal had here the same effect with that of some antiquaries, who, not perceiving that it is much more honourable to increase, than retain, wish to persuade us, that the kingdom of Scotland was always as large as now, on the south of the Forth and Clyde; so, in this charter, because lands are added to the see of Glasgow, these new acquisitions are most falsely said to be an ancient part of it. The truth, namely, that the see of Glasgow had made new and great acquisitions, did it high honour; the falsehood, namely, that

¹ Collections concerning Scottish History. Edin. 1705, 8vo.

these acquisitions had formerly belonged to it, did it dishonour, not only as a falsehood, but, even taken as a truth, it gave an idea of weakness and uncertainty in the possessions of the see ; and power resting wholly on opinion, nothing can injure it more than such an idea, whereas acquisition increases the opinion of power to a degree far exceeding the reality. The *regnum Cambrense*, or Welsh kingdom in Scotland, is confounded here with the *regnum Cumbrense*, or kingdom of Cumbria. Ignorance indeed might also have its share in this error ; for there was but one letter of difference, and the distance between them did not exceed sixty miles. Father Innes, as a good friend to the bishopric of Glasgow, rests upon this authority, that the kingdom of Strat-Clyde and that of Cumbria were all one, and reached from Cumberland to Glasgow ; but we have *disinterested* authorities against this, as shall presently be shewn ; and though I have a high opinion of the learned father, yet he deserves blame for sacrificing any historical point to a *pious fraud*. The next article also must be partly considered in this light.

9. For Jocelin, a monk of Furness, in Lancashire, wrote about 1180, and dedicated his Life of St Kentigern, or Mungo, to another Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow, from 1174, till 1199.¹ In that long work there are several anecdotes of the kingdom of Strat-Clyde. He calls it *Regnum Cambrense*, or the Welsh kingdom ; and describes it as reaching from the wall in Northumberland, to the firths of Forth and Clyde ; an absurdity by his own account, for he mentions that St Kentigern converted the Picts in Galloway. He makes the bishopric of Kentigern extend over all that kingdom ; another absurdity, for if he had held such a bishopric, it could never have escaped Beda, who does not mention him at all. Kentigern

¹ MS. Cotton. Vitell. C. VIII. et transcript. penes Aut.
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lived in the time of Saint Gregory the Pope, and of Columba, or about the year 600 : and Jocelin extends his life much, so that he could not die before 650. Now it is evident from Beda, that there were no bishops at Glasgow in that period, though there were of Candida Casa, or Whithern ; and that the English possessed most of the south of Scotland, till driven out by the Píks in 684, or 46 years before Beda wrote, as he tells us, Book IV. ch. 26. As the English held Lothian and the south of Galloway, so the Píks held the west, by Jocelin's own account ; and this *Regnum Cambrense* must be confined to Dunbarton and Renfrew shires, and a small part of Lanarkshire. In short, his book is palpably written to gratify the ambition of the bishop of Glasgow ; and Jocelin has spared no *pious fraud* on the occasion. Yet even his errors throw light on the truth ; and, if we withdraw our faith from the ambitious parts, we may give him considerable credit for the rest, referring to history or geography ; especially as, he says, he followed two elder lives, the one in Latin, the other in Irish. Of Kentigern's bishopric, we shall speak in Part VI. Jocelin puts Kentigern as contemporary with two kings of Strat-Clyde, Morken and Rederech ; and mentions his prophecy about Constantine, a third who succeeded Rederech : he also names Langueth, the queen of Rederech.

10. Ailred, abbot of Reval, in his Life of St Ninian, written about 1150, speaking of the western parts of Scotland, where St Ninian was born, says, that it was certain, not only by the testimony of histories, but by the memory of men, that these western countries had a proper king of their own till the end of the Saxon, or English times, that is, till the Norman invasion. And he mentions Tudwald as king in St Ninian's time, or about 412.¹

¹ MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Laud. F. XV. et transcript. penes Aut. See also Innes.

11. Roger Hoveden wrote about 1210 ; and, under the years 899 and 917, he mentions the Strat-Clyde Welsh, as Nos. 6 and 7. Most of the English writers, who relate the reign of Edward the Elder, also mention them, so their testimonies need not be repeated. Only it may be observed, that Matthew of Westminster, called *Florilegus*, who wrote about 1320, always puts *Gakwalenses* for *Stratcludwalli*, knowing they lived in part of ancient Galloway, which extended even to the Clyde.

12. Caradoc of Llancarvon wrote his History of Wales about 1157. The editions we have of him are stuffed with interpolations, especially that of 1697. Little can therefore be rested on him. He tells us, under the year 878, that, after the death of Roderic the Great, king of Wales, "the northern Britons of Strat-Clyde and Cumberland were mightily infested, and weakened, through the daily incursions of the Danes, Saxons, and Scots ;" so that many came to Gwyneth, under the conduct of one Hobert, and had all the country between Chester and the river Conway granted them for habitation, if they could expel the Saxons, who had seized it. Necessity gave them courage, and they accomplished this. Under the years 944, and 1054, he mentions Strat-Clyde in Wales.

This last evidence naturally leads us to the chief difficulty in this point, namely, if the kingdom of Strat-Clyde was in Scotland, or Wales ? For there is also a river Clyde in North Wales ; and Camden and others incline to think the Strat-Clyde Welsh were really of that country. I was long of the same opinion ; but am now convinced it is erroneous, for the following reasons.

1. In no history of Wales, however particular as to the other kingdoms, do we find Strat-Clyde mentioned as a kingdom in that country. Caradoc alone

mentions it as a district ; and palpably infers that it received that name from the real Strat-Clyde Welsh, who came into it, and expelled the Saxons about 878, as above stated. It may be said, neither are the Strat-Clyde Welsh mentioned in Scottish historians.¹ But this would be a quibble, for we have no Scottish historians till the beginning of the fifteenth century ; whereas the Welsh had annals before Geofrey and Caradoc, who wrote in the twelfth.

2. Gwyneth, or North Wales, through which the Welsh Clyde runs, was of itself a very small kingdom ; Powis, or Middle Wales, being another kingdom equal to it in size ; and Demetia, or South Wales, by far the largest. So that it is improbable that Strat-Clyde should be a kingdom in North Wales. And if it were, as we find kings of Dyfy and Cardigan in South Wales mentioned by Caradoc, it is most improbable that the Welsh writers should be silent about a people remarkable even in English history.

3. The opinion of Camden was given from want of knowledge that there had been any British kingdom upon the Clyde in Scotland. Adomnan, Jocelin, Ailred, &c. he had never seen, nor heard of. An eminent writer may be ignorant, but to found upon his ignorance is absurd.

4. Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote his *Descriptio Cambriæ*, and his *Itinerarium Cambriæ*,² in the twelfth century, is utterly silent concerning this kingdom, though most particular in every other matter. In the *Itinerarium*, written 1188, he mentions the river

¹ They are however implied repeatedly by the name *Britanni*, *Britones*, in one of our oldest fragments, the Chron. XII. Regum, apud Innes, as after shewn.

² See both at the end of the London 8vo edition of Ponticus Virunnius, an Italian writer, who abridged Geofrey of Monmouth, about the year 1500 ; and in Camden's *Anglica*, *Hibernica*, &c. *Francof.* 1602, fol.

Cluyd toward the end ; but says not one word of this kingdom, nor of the Strat-Clyde Welsh.

5. The Welsh writers deny this kingdom to have been in Wales. Lluyd, in his *Commentariolum*,¹ says expressly, that the Strat-Clyde Welsh were on the Clyde in Scotland, whence a part of them came into Wales about 878, as above stated. He indeed adds, that they founded a kingdom of Strat-Clyde in North Wales after that period. But in this he is positively contradicted by Williams, his last learned editor, who says, that not a trace of this can be found in the Welsh Annals. They indeed say, *Pan oedd oed Crist 944 y diffeithwyd Stratcludi gan y Seison*; that is, “*In the year of Christ 944, Stratclud was wasted by the Saxons.*” But this, proceeds Williams, must be understood of the region near Dunclid, or Dunbarton; for it appears from the Saxon Chronicle, that King Edmund in that year subdued all Northumberland; and that in the following years he wasted the land of the Cumbrians, &c. In the same annals, adds he, we read, *Pan oedd oed Crist 974 y cyrchawdd Dungwallawen Brenin Stratclud Rufain, ac y bu farw*; that is, “*In the year of Christ 974, Dunwallon, king of Stratclud, went to Rome, and there died.*” But that he was not of Wales, but of Scotland, appears, says Williams, from this, that there is no mention of him, nor his kingdom, in the Welsh Annals; and we call the vale of Clyde in North Wales, not Strat-Clwyd, but Dyffryn Clwyd. He then adds, that the Stratclydwalli, of the Saxon Annals, &c. were certainly on the Clyde in Scotland. At the end of this last edition of Llwyd, are *Æræ Cambro-Brittanicæ*, in which, under the year 584, we find that Gurgi and Peredur, sons of a prince in North Britain, were slain. A note informs us, that

¹ This is the book so warmly attacked by Buchanan. It was published at London, 1572; republished by Williams, London, 1731, 4to.

at that time, and long after, the Britons, or Welsh, held Dunclide, that is, *Caer Alclud*, now *Dunbarton*, and the neighbouring regions; and that the nobles of these countries are called in old Welsh MSS. *Teyrnedd y Gogledd*, or *kings of the North*, who, though several, were all obedient to the king of Cumbria, or Cumberland.

6. It will appear *prima facie* to an unprejudiced reader, that the Strat-Clyde Welsh of Asser, the Saxon Annals, and the other English historians, above mentioned, were in Scotland, and not in Wales. For the progress of Halfden's army was north; while the other half of the Danes moved south, toward Cambridge,¹ as Asser tells. Halfden wintered on the Tyne in Northumberland, and ravaged the lands of the Piks and Strat-Clyde Welsh. Between him and North Wales were about 170 miles; between him and Clyde in Scotland, not above 50. To say that Halfden ravaged the lands of North Wales by excursions from Northumberland, would be a strange information; but that he ravaged the south of Scotland from that station, is quite natural. Florence, Simeon, &c. always rank the Strat-Clyde Welsh with the Scots, Cumbrians, Northumbrians, all nations of the north. To rank the inhabitants of a small vale in North Wales with such nations, and such northerly nations, would have been absurd. Matthew of Westminster expressly calls them Galwalenses, or people of Gallo-way, taken in the large sense it once bore.

7. The kingdom on the Clyde in Scotland, mentioned by Adomnan, Jocelin, &c. could not vanish. We have certain evidence that there was a kingdom on the Clyde in Scotland; but none at all that there was one on the Clyde in Wales. The inference is obvious.

¹ Then called Grantebrycge, p. 27. edit. Wise.

8. The river Clyde in Scotland runs about 120 miles ; that in Denbighshire, not above 20. The former is a great and majestic river ; the latter a small stream. There is something ridiculous in supposing that the inhabitants round a little river, in a small county of Wales, should find a place in English history, where the Welsh are put *in general*, even the three real Welsh kingdoms being seldom, or never, mentioned ; while, in the particular history of Wales itself, these inhabitants never occur.*

These arguments may, it is hoped, be found convincing ; so that it may be regarded as an historic truth, that the Strat-Clyde Welsh were upon the Clyde in Scotland ; where, in all events, we know that a Welsh kingdom long existed, the kingdom of *Petra Cloithe*, of Adomnan, the *regnum Cambrense* of Jocelin. The title is from the capital, according to a not uncommon custom of the darker ages. Thus, in a MS. of the Cotton Library, Nero, E. I. we find *Didanus rex Oxenfordiæ*, for king of Mercia. In Caradoc of Lancarvon, under the year 933, we find king of London put for king of England ; and the same expression is used in the laws of Howel Dha. In Jocelin's Life of Kentigern, most of that saint's adventures with the King Rederech happen at Glasghu, or Glasgow, anciently, as Jocelin says, called Cathures ; and he also mentions, that King Rederech died the same year with Kentigern, *in villa regia quæ Pertmet nuncupatur*, at the royal country house called Pertmet.

Let us now proceed to consider a little the history of this kingdom, which is obscure in the extreme, and of which only scraps can be found. A Welsh

* A learned friend, a native of Wales, informs me, that in the recent publication of the old Welsh Annals, it is stated that the people of Dyffryn Clwyd came from Scotland in the ninth century, and gave their favourite name to the little stream. He adds, that to infer any kingdom there would be ridiculous.

chronicle of Strat-Clyde would be a curious discovery, but not to be hoped, so we must put up with the imperfect notices we have.

The Romans held Valentia down to the year 409, when they left Britain. Upon this dereliction they seem to have appointed various princes² over different parts of Britain; a plan suggested by sound policy, for these petty kings would naturally be at variance; whereas, had one king been given, his power would have been so great, that the Romans would have found a return difficult, if they were so inclined. This supposition is countenanced by Gildas, who addresses no less than five kings of the Britons in his time, reigning at once over different parts, which unhappily he does not specify. The kingdom now under view seems originally to have extended over all Valentia; and Theodosia, or Alclud, being the capital of the province, naturally impregnable, and towering, like the acropolis of Corinth, on the top of a high rock rising at once from a plain, it became of course the capital, and chief strength of the new kingdom. But if ever this kingdom extended over Valentia, the duration of that extent must have been very short indeed, for in 426 the Picts seized on all the eastern parts of Valentia, down to the wall of Gallio; and on all the south and west. About 450, Octa and Ebissa are said to have erected a Saxon state in Northumberland; and, however this be, the kingdom of Bernicia extended over the east and south parts, while the Picts seemed to have retained present Ayrshire. In short, Renfrew, Dunbarton, and a part of

² Zozimus, Lib. VI. mentions letters of Honorius *προς τας εν Βρεταννικα πολιεις*, "to the towns in Britain." This was after the Romans left Britain; but princes soon usurped the power. The towns indeed, as founded by the Romans, might be considered as more attached to them; which circumstance may perhaps account for these letters being addressed to the towns only.

Lanarkshire, seem from the very first to have constituted the kingdom of Strat-Clyde: a small portion of the upper part of Ayrshire must also be added, where the isles of Great and Little Cumbra, in the mouth of the Clyde, retain the name of their old Cumraig possessors, with the usual terminating *a*, of isles, which does not signify *water*, as some imagine, but *island*.¹ The names in Cunningham and Kyle, or the two thirds of Ayrshire to the north, are Gothic; some of those in Carrick, or the south part of Ayrshire, are Irish. It is remarkable, that the Irish was spoken in Carrick to a late period,² if it be not yet in part; and the Wild Scots of Galloway are mentioned in old writers. These Scots, being quite disconnected from the other old Scotsof Dalriada, or Argyle, seem to me to have past from the opposite shore of Ireland, by permission of the lords of Galloway; either from being concerned in some Irish commotion, or being called to assist some lord of Galloway on occasion, who in return, as common in ancient times, gave them land. However this be, the whole names in Cunningham and Kyle are Gothic, and have in course been called Saxon, by those who know not that the Saxon is but a dialect of the Gothic; and that by the same rule the names in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, are all Saxon. It is certain that the Saxons never held this part of the country. If they had, we should have known much more of the kingdom of Strat-Clyde: but the obscure hints of Beda sufficiently shew that the Saxon territory never sur-

¹ In old German, *Ach*, or *Acha*, is water, Wachter; whence Scottish names, *Achtertul*, *Achinleck*, &c. &c. In modern German, it is *a*, or *aa*. But isles in *a*, as most of the Orkneys and Hebudes are from the Scandinavian *oe*, an *isle*, in which many Scandinavian isles, as *Samsoe*, &c. end.

² Description of Galloway, with views of castles, &c. a fragment, temp. Eliz. in Mus. Brit. and Dunbar's satires against Kennedy, in Ramsay's Evergreen.

rounded this kingdom on all quarters, save the north, as it must have done, had the Saxons held Ayrshire. The kingdom of Bernicia, as appears from Beda, extended to the Forth on the east, but by no means to the mouth of Clyde on the west. Whithern, he says, was in it, and so was Abercorn; and it seems to have contained only the south-west of Galloway, though it held all the east parts, from the Tweed to the Forth. But of this in the Supplement.

The history of Saint Ninian is very obscure. He was contemporary with Saint Martin, as his life shews, and all agree; that is, he visited him on his return from Italy, and before he became bishop of Whithern. Saint Martin died, it is believed, in 412; and from the whole tenor of Ninian's story, it is apparent that he flourished before the Piks seized on the south parts, up to Gallio's wall, or the year 426. Tudwald therefore, the British king mentioned by Ailred, must have been one of the princes tributary to the Romans; and has no connexion with the kings of Strat-Clyde. Ailred indeed only calls him a king in these western parts. That Whithern was the see erected by Ninian over the Piks he converted, is a gross error. Ailred tells that it was his proper British see, long before he went to convert the southern Piks, who lived, as Beda shews, south of the Grampian Hills, or in Fifeshire, &c. Ninian's success among these Piks is passed in two lines by Ailred, though the most important part of Ninian's life.

The first mention we find of kings of Strat-Clyde, is by Adomnan, who supplies Roderic, as above shewn. This prince was clearly the Rederech of Jocelin, as Columba and Kentigern were contemporaries. His father was Morken, as Jocelin shews, and his son Constantine; and we learn from Jocelin, that the succession was lineal, as usual among the Welsh.

The Life of Gildas mentions Caunus, or Navus, in the fifth century, and his successor Hoel.

In the *Æræ Cambro-Britannicæ*, published in the last edition of Llwyd's *Commentariolum*, we find some notices concerning this kingdom, under the year 577, when the battle of Arderydd, or Atterith, on the Esk, near Solway Firth, was fought. But these notices are so confused, as usual with all Celtic history, that nothing can be made of them. It is indeed surprising that much of the intelligence conveyed in the Celtic dialects, Welsh or Irish, is vague; while the northern histories, written in Gothic, are generally clear and accurate. It is stated in the *Æræ*, from some imperfect hints of Welsh genealogies, &c. that this battle was fought between Roderic, king of Cumbria, on the one side, and Guendolau and Aedan, northern princes, on the other. Roderic was not king of Cumbria, but of Strat-Clyde, as appears from Williams's own account; for he says, he is the same mentioned in the Life of Kentigern. So far as appears, this was an intestine war; and is therefore ranged by the Welsh author of the *Triades* among the three foolish battles, or those fought for nothing. Neither of the two adversaries of Roderic, namely Guendolau and Aedan, are once mentioned as kings. Guendolau, who fell in this battle, was the patron of Merlin of Calydon, who lived in Strat-Clyde, and conversed with Kentigern, as will be seen in Part VI. He and Aedan seem to have rebelled, and got assistance from Wales, which they were leading against Roderic, when met by him, and defeated. The genealogy of Roderic there given, is *Rhydderch Hael ab Tudwal Tudglud, ab Cedig, ab Dyfuwal Hen, ab Ednyfed, ab Macsen Wledig*; and both Guendolau and Aedan are in a like manner traced to Macsin, or Maximus Tyrannus, which Williams, instead of laughing at, takes *bona fide*! But Welsh and Irish genealogies are often

highly absurd. We however learn, that Roderic was a monarch so generous, that he was called *Hael*, or the *Bountiful*, and is praised by different Welsh authors. Nothing can be more ludicrous than the remark of Williams upon the similarity between Aidan and Aedan, that the Scottish writers had stolen some actions of Welsh princes. We have the authority of Beda, a page of whom is worth all the Welsh and Irish Annals in the world, for Aidan *rex Scotorum qui Britanniam inhabitant*; for the Welsh nobleman Aedan, we have no authority at all. The Kintillus, or Kintellus, son of Gauran, is a mere dream; and he is banished from Scottish history.

Thus we can trace five kings of Strat-Clyde: from the life of Gildas, two who reigned toward the end of the fifth, and beginning of the sixth century, CAUNUS and HOEL: from Adomnan, one who reigned toward the end of the sixth century, Roderic: two from Jocelin, MORKEN, predecessor of RODERC, and CONSTANTINE, son of Roderic. They who wish to see uncertain hints of the first Caunus, are referred to Usher's *Antiquities of the British Churches*; who also informs us, from Welsh authors, that Hoel, the next, was slain in battle by Arthur.² Morken and Constantine,

² The reader needs hardly be told that Arthur was merely a name given by the Welsh to Aurelius Ambrosius, their Roman defender against the Saxons. See Gildas, c. 25. Beda, I. 16. *Art-uir*, signifies the Chief, or Great Man. He flourished about the year 480. Gildas lived in the very time assigned to the mock Arthur, yet knew nothing of him; nor did Beda. Nay, nor Nennius; for the chapter concerning Arthur is an addition, and occurs after the words, *Hic expliciunt gesta Britonum a Nennio conscripta*. See Bertram's edition. Mr Whitaker, to support his romance of *Morte Arthur*, which, with him, is history, makes Nennius live in 620, though, from no less than five computations in his work, it be evident that he wrote in 858; and any man, the least versed in such matters, must see from his work in general that it is of the ninth century. Nor did Mr W. observe that the chapter on Arthur is not of Nennius, but an addition taken from Geoffrey's romance. The author, fond of Arthur's fame, once thought him a reality; but upon full exa-

are mentioned by Jocelin. Roderic is celebrated by different writers ; and was the greatest of the kings of Strat-Clyde.

The Annals of Ulster, the most valuable and authentic of the Irish histories, and generally founded on those of Tighernac, who wrote in 1088, gives us the following kings of Alclyde, or Strat-Clyde. In 657, say 660, as these annals generally precede the common calculations of the Christian era by three years, GUIRET, king of Alclyde, died. He was probably successor of the above Constantine. In 693 [696,] DONAL, son of Owen, King of Alclyde, died. In 710 [713,] there was a battle between the Dalriads, or Irish of Argyle, and the Britons, [of Strat-Clyde,] in which the latter were vanquished. In 716 [719,] there was another battle at the stone called Mimro, and the Britons again fled. In 721 [724,] BILE, son of Eilphin, king of Alclyde, died.

After this we find nothing concerning this kingdom till the year 726, when Egbert, king of Northumberland, and Unnust, king of the Piks, led their army to Alclud, and the Britons yielding, received terms. So Simeon of Durham, and Roger Hoveden.¹ The terms would seem to be of tribute. To return to the Annals of Ulster.

mination is undeceived. Milton declares against the existence of Arthur. Hume, following, as usual, what Mr Gibbon justly calls "the gross ignorance of Carte," supports the dream. That Arthur was Aurelius Ambrosius, is certain ; but the Arthur of Welsh history is a non-existence. The names of places, built on by Mr Whitaker, arose merely from the romances ; and none of them are older than the 13th and 14th centuries. Arthur's Seat, near Edinburgh, is a name of yesterday, and arose from the tournaments near it ; as did Arthur's Round Table at Stirling. In the centuries of chivalry and romance, Arthur was quite popular, and gave occasion to many names of places.

¹ Anno 756, Eadbert rex, decimo quinto anno regni sui, et Unnust rex Pictorum, duxerunt exercitum ad Urbem Alcluit ; ibique Britones inde conditionem receperunt prima die mensis Augusti. *Hoveden, et sic etiam Sim. Dun.*

In 779 [782,] Alclud was burnt on the Calends, or 1st of January, but by whom appears not. In 869 [872,] Alclyde was besieged by the Norwegians and Danes from Ireland, under Olave and Ivar, who, after besetting it for four months, at length destroyed it. In 871 [874,] ARTGA, king of the Britons of Strat-Clyde, *Strahcluoth*e, was slain by Constantine II. king of the Piks. Thus far the Annals of Ulster.

In 875, we find Halfden wasting the territories of the Strat-Clud Welsh, and Piks. About this time, if we believe Welsh writers, a part of the Strat-Clud Welsh and Cumbrians settled in Wales.

In the reign of Edward the Elder, of England, (900—925) we find the Strat-Clud Welsh express affection and submission to him, if English writers be believed.

About 972, we learn from Caradoc of Lancarvon, that Dunwallon, king of Strat-Clyde, went to Rome. Llwyd informs us, he was the last king of Strat-Clyde, and that he died at Rome soon after.

The nature of the termination of this kingdom seems unknown. In 970, Kenneth IV. became king of the Piks, and reigned till 992. It is most remarkable, that in the ancient Chronicle of the Twelve Kings, who reigned after the union of the Piks and Dalriads, we find that this very Kenneth *prædavit Britanniam*, and after, *prædavit Saxoniam*. The *Britones* and *Britannia* of the whole of that Chronicle appear unquestionably the Strat-Clyde Welsh, or Britons, and their country. It informs us that Eochoid, the fifth of these kings, 883, was *filius Ku regis Britannorum*, “the son of Ku, king of the Britons.” That in the time of Constantine, the seventh of these princes, 904, Dovenald, king of the Britons, died, and was succeeded by Dovenald, son of Ed. We also find here that Culen, 965, and his brother Eochoid, were slain by these Britons; which is confirmed by the Annals of Ulster.

In 945, according to the English historians,¹ Edmund, king of England, gave Cumberland to Malcolm I. of Scotland, on condition of homage. The Piks were in possession of Lothian and Galloway, from the year 426. In the reign of Indulf, about 956, we find that the town of Eden was given up to the Scots by the English;² but if this were Edinburgh, it does by no means follow that the English then held Lothian, for the text bears only that town, which would be absurd, had the large territory around it been also given up. The fact seems, that Athelstan, when he ravaged the south of Scotland in 934, had left a garrison here, in like manner as later kings held forts in the south, nay north of Scotland, when they had not the smallest territory around them. This garrison departed in Indulf's time, and the town was of course given up to the Scots. When Cumberland was given up to Malcolm, in 945, there is every reason to think that the Scottish dominions reached down to Solway in the middle, and to the Tweed in the east. But the south-west part of Scotland, or that between the rivers Clyde and Nith and the western sea, seems, from its angular situation, to have long maintained a species of independency. It is well known that, even down to the twelfth century, the lords of Galloway were only feudatory to the Scottish kings;³ and were in fact petty sovereigns. Down to the tenth century, or about 970, the kings of Strat-Clyde were apparently in like predicament; and the Forth was regarded as the boundary between them and the Piks on the north-east, as it originates near Loch Lomond, in Dunbartonshire; as Loch Long, and the mouth of Clyde, divided them from the Dalriads on the north and west. We find in that old Chronicle, published by Innes, that Kenneth lost many of his infant-

¹ Chron. Saxon. &c.

² Chron. apud Innes.

³ Sir David Dalrymple's Annals.

ry when he attacked these Britons ; and that he fortified the banks of Forth. The kingdom of Strat-Clyde certainly remained in existence for about thirty years after Cumberland was given up to the Pikish kings. Before this event we find the Piks and Strat-Clyde Britons in close alliance ; so that Eochoid, the son of a king of Strat-Clyde, came to the Pikish throne by inheritance in 883, as above mentioned, though Grig, who was only regent, has usurped his place, and held it exclusively among the Scottish fabulists, who call him Gregory the Great, and add the grossest fables. But when Cumberland was resigned to Malcolm I. in 945, on account of the turbulence of its Welsh inhabitants, as Matthew of Westminster says, the Piks became of course the enemies of the Britons, who regarded them as new tyrants. This enmity extended to Strat-Clyde, between which and Cumbria there was constant intercourse ; so that before 970, as appears from the above quoted old Chronicle, wars had arisen, and in that year Culen was slain by these Britons.

About 972, it appears that Kenneth IV. entirely subdued these Britons of Strat-Clyde ; and their territory being annexed to the Pikish throne, we find no mention of the kingdom of Strat-Clyde afterwards. But the people occur in charters, &c. to a late period. Innes shews that charters to the see of Glasgow, by Malcolm IV. and William, are addressed, *Francis, et Anglicis, Scotis et Galweiensibus, et Walensibus, et omnibus ecclesiæ S. Kentegerni de Glasgo, et ejusdem episcopi, parochianis*. The *Franci et Angli* are Normans and English, some of whom settled in the south of Scotland ; the *Galweenses*, the Piks of Galloway, as will after appear ; the *Walenses*, or Welsh, are the Britons of Strat-Clyde. In 1304 the law of the Scots and *Brets* is mentioned in an instrument quoted by Sir David Dalrymple, in his Annals. These Brets were palpably the Britons of Strat-Clyde, as all the

northern writers call the Welsh *Brets*, and Wales *Bretland*;¹ Winton also uses *Bret* and *Bretan*, for Briton and Britain. Nay, in Clydesdale at present, if you will ask the common people about any ancient castle, or the like, they will tell you it was erected *by the Brets*, or *by the Pechts*, that is by the Britons, or by the Piks. The *Notitia Imperii* uses *Britti* for Britons: the Saxon translation of Beda, *Brytta*: Witichind, in his *Gesta Saxonum*, uses *Bracti* often for Britons.

Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire, and great part of Lanarkshire, formed the kingdom of Strat-Clyde, being about eighty miles long, and thirty broad; and equal in size to the kingdom of Kent, or some others of the heptarchy, and superior to most of the other Welsh kingdoms. The language of this part of Scotland still retains something of the Welsh accent, and some peculiar words; though the Pikish, or broad Scottish, the language of the south of Scotland all around this part, has supplanted the old speech entirely. It is also believed that the people were very much lessened before they were subdued; for their defence, as may be judged from the old Chronicle above quoted, was obstinate and bloody, and cost Culen, one of the kings of Scotland (then Pikland,) his life; and Kenneth IV. in whose reign their last king is placed and their name vanishes, a great part of his infantry. Dunwallon, their king, seems to have fled to Wales, whence he went to Rome; and it is likely that many of his subjects also escaped into Wales. The speech of Galloway has in general a good deal of the Welsh accent, which is vulgarly thought the Irish, for the Celtic accents are much the same.

¹ Snorro, and the Icelandic Sagas, call Wales *Bretland*, and its people *Brets*. The Saxon Chronicle calls the Welsh *Bryttar*. Fordun, II. 56, mentions *Albanicæ Britones*. It is remarkable that Lanark is a place on the Clyde in Wales, as in Scotland; and the name is Cumraig, *Llan*, a church; *Llanerch*, areola, a little area. Davis Dict. Kymb.

In Carrick, till lately, Irish was spoken; but this is an exception, owing to that part being possessed by the Wild Scots of Galloway, an Irish settlement, as above mentioned.

It may perhaps be matter of wonder that this kingdom of Strat-Clyde should exist so long in the midst of enemies. But this wonder will cease, when we consider, 1. That when the Piks first seized on the rest of the south of Scotland in 426, most of the Britons of Valentia seem to have retired to this western part, around the fortified capital of Theodosia, or Alclud; and, by their compact numbers and sequestered situation, to have defied the Pikish power, even as in Wales, Cumberland, and Cornwall, their brethren to later periods withstood the English. 2. That when the Dalriads, in 503, settled in Argyle, they became next neighbours to those Britons; and they seem to have naturally formed alliance from proximity of speech, both speaking the Celtic, though in different dialects, and to have protected each other. 3. That the Piks were, to a late period, too much harassed by the Angli, to think of attempting this conquest, and would naturally rather wish to have the Strat-Clyde Britons in their amity, as a barrier against the Angli. 4. That when the Angli were in possession of Bernicia, which was but for a short and tumultuary time, they were not only harassed by the Piks and old Scots, but by their southern brethren; so that it would have been folly in them to have attacked the Strat-Clyde Welsh, and thus have converted into an enemy a people whose whole view seems to have been self-defence. Causes like these have always protected small states, lying between powerful ones; and though the kingdom of Strat-Clyde be mostly level and fertile, yet these reasons served as mountain barriers to protect it against surrounding foes.

CHAPTER VI.

The Kingdom of Cumbria.

THIS kingdom was not within the bounds of this Part of my work, being to the south of Solway Firth ; but some wrongly extending it further north, and it being at any rate a kingdom of the Southern Britons, once belonging to Scotland, it shall be considered here. As this kingdom has by Innes, and others, been confounded with that of Strat-Clyde, it becomes necessary to shew that it was quite a different state, before entering upon any other discussion of this subject. Innes has taken the matter for granted, and gives no reasons for his opinion ; but they, who would shew Cumbria and Strat-Clyde to have been one and the same kingdom, might argue thus.

1. Beda mentions that Alclud was in the hands of the Britons in his time, or 731 ; but says nothing of any possessions they had in present Cumberland, though he lived in Northumberland ; and if they had such possessions, they could not have escaped his knowledge.

2. The *Inquisitio facta per David Principem Cumbriae, de Possessionibus Ecclesiae Glasguensis*, a deed of the year 1113, expressly puts Glasgow as the ancient metropolitan see of Cumbria ; and, by its uniform tenor, shews that the framer of it looked on Cumbria as including the intervening country between Cumberland and Glasgow. That is, if we judge from this deed, Cumbria and Strat-Clyde were certainly all one,

3. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote about 1150, is of the same opinion; for, in his *Life of Merlin of Caledon*, a MS. in the Cotton Library, Vesp. E. IV. he puts Roderch, the celebrated king of Strat-Clyde, as king of the Cumbri, and calls his kingdom Cumbria, though his city he names Alclud.¹

4. That the Cumbri were not of present Cumberland, might appear from Richard of Hexham, who says, that when David, king of Scotland, entered the territory of St Cuthbert, in 1138, he there waited for his army. "And without delay, according to his orders, the Piks, and Cumbri, and men of Carlel and surrounding country, came to him."² Had the Cumbri been of Cumberland, they must have been the

¹ Geoffrey also in his Romance, which proved so ruinous to English history, confounds Alclyde, or Dunbarton, with Carlisle. Roger of Chester, author of the *Polychronicon*, written about 1330, and ascribed to Ralph Higden, was confounded with this blunder of that ignorant fabulist, and doubts where to place Alclyde. Goodal hence wisely infers, that Alclyde was Carlisle, and its kingdom Cumberland! Alclyde, or Dunbarton, was destroyed by the Danes from Ireland in 872, as above shewn. About 875, the Danes, who ravaged Northumberland, destroyed Carlisle. Geoffrey of Monmouth is the *only* writer who confounds Alclyde with Carlisle. Roger of Chester, a late writer of no authority, is puzzled with his error; and by mistaking the wall of Antoninus, implied by Beda, for that of Gallio. But against these writers are Beda, Adomnan, Jocelin, who place Alclyde on the Clyde in Scotland; and ALL the old English historians, who call Carlisle Luguballia and Carlele, but never Alclyde. Simeon of Durham at 756 calls Dunbarton *Alcluith*; at 1092, he terms Carlisle *Luguballia, anglicæ Carlele*. Fordun, II. 29, specially distinguishes Carlisle from Alclyde, saying, "Kaerleile etiam, et Alnecluid, sive Alclide, quæ et nunc Dunbretan nuncupatur, oppidaque plurima," &c. In Welsh, Carlisle is called *Caer Llwylydd*, Evans, p. 36, which bearing some similarity to *Caer Alclydd*, might occasion Geoffrey's mistake; but he himself, Lib. VII. puts Alclud in Scotland, and has a curious description of Lake Limugoum, or Loch Lomond, which he places in Mureith, or Moray!

² Nec mora ex ejus edicto Picti, et Cumbri, et homines de Carlel et de circumjacente regione, ad illum convenerunt.—*Ricard. Hægustald. de Gest. Steph. Col. 319, in Scriptor. X.*

men of Carlisle and its surrounding country ; so that a distinction between the Cumbri and the people of Cumberland seems unavoidable. And if the Cumbri were not of Cumberland, they must have been of Strat-Clyde, as will be allowed by all.

These arguments are all that I can find which may serve this opinion, and they are stated with the utmost candour, as I neither wish to mislead nor be misled. Indeed they were at first so prevalent with me, that I long thought Strat-Clyde and Cumbria all one ; but was forced to abandon this opinion for reasons which shall be produced, after giving answers to the above arguments on the other side.

1. Beda's silence as to the Cumbri and Cumbria is at best but a negative argument, and of course a nullity. His work is entitled, *The Ecclesiastic History of the English Nation* : secular affairs he very seldom, and very briefly, mentions. He says not one word of the Britons in Wales and Cornwall ; so that his silence as to those in Cumbria must not be wondered at.

2. The *Inquisitio* is an ecclesiastic fraud, to serve the purposes of an avaricious and ambitious see, not a disinterested charter, which can assist history.

3. Geoffrey is a romancer, not an historian. He has used such freedoms with the history of his own country around him, that, in such distant regions as Cumbria and Strat-Clyde, his veracity is at best most suspicious. It might also very naturally happen that many of the Welsh writers, from the remoteness of Strat-Clyde and Cumbria, and obscurity of their history, might confound these two regions into one, or mistake the one for the other.

4. The fourth argument is to me the strongest. Richard lived at Hexham, in Northumberland, near the spot, and also near the time, or about 1150. He is the only writer in being who seems to distinguish

the Cumbri from the people of Cumberland. Carlele is infallibly Carlisle : but how came a people in that city and the surrounding territory different from the Cumbri, who by every hypothesis held Cumberland ? The following seems the only way of accounting for this. About the year 875, the Danes, under different leaders, ravaged all the north of England with great fury, and, as we learn from many historians, razed Carlisle to the ground. The same writers mention that in 1092 it was rebuilt by William II. after lying desert for two centuries. It was to revenge this erection of a fortified town in the midst of his feudal dominions, that Malcolm III. invaded England in 1093, when he was slain. In 1100, Henry I. of England married Matilda, sister of Edgar, the Scottish king ; upon which event amity followed between the kingdoms till 1137, when David I. opposed Stephen of England. During this space it appears, from the historians of the War of the Standard, 1138, that Carlisle and Cumberland, nay Northumberland, had been regarded as part of the Scottish dominions. So that it would seem that Henry I. upon his marriage, had in particular resigned Carlisle to Edgar : for no formal possession had been ever taken by the English of any other part of these domains ; and it appears from the Domesday Book, that they were not regarded as part of England. The rebuilding and fortifying of Carlisle, by William II. was an unexampled encroachment, but, from the sudden boldness in erecting a strong town in the heart of an enemy's possession, was a stroke of daring policy, worthy of an impetuous and haughty monarch, and, considered either by its depth or resolution, commands admiration.¹ But when William II. rebuilt

¹ But it is to be considered, whether, as lord paramount of Cumberland, as he certainly was, the king of Scotland paying homage for it, he had not a title to build a fortified city to protect his own territory ? This question is submitted to those versed in feudal laws

Carlisle, in 1092, it cannot be dreamed that he re-peopled it with Welshmen, or Cumbri. English or Normans must have been the new tenants, and most probably the latter. When, about 1100, Carlisle was given up to the Scottish, we cannot believe that the English garrison was allowed to remain, for this were without all example. Edgar, king of Scotland, certainly sent a garrison into it, of his own subjects, and not of the Dalriads, or Old Scotti, of Britain; for they were ignorant of the arts, and could know nothing of engines, or aught belonging to fortifications, or defence of them. We may therefore conclude that this new garrison was of Piks from the south of Scotland, either *Galweienses*, or *Tevedalenses*, or *Lothianenses*, or a mixture. Thus the reason appears why the people of Carlisle and the surrounding territory were not Cumbri, though the Cumbri were unquestionless the people of Cumberland.

Having thus, it is hoped, satisfactorily answered these arguments for Strat-Clyde and Cumbria being all one, let us proceed to positive proofs of their difference.

1. Florence of Worcester, one of the most ancient and authentic of English secular historians, and who wrote about 1100, specially distinguishes between the Cumbri and Stratcludwalli, saying, under the year 901, p. 598, ed. Francof. 1601. fol. that Edward the Elder “*Scotorum, Cumbrorum, Streatgledwalorum, omnesque Occidentalium Britonum reges in deditionem accepit.*”

2. Roger Hoveden, who wrote about the year 1205, has the same distinction; saying, under the year 900, that Edward the Elder *Scottorum, Cumbro- rum, Stercglendwalorum, omnesque Occidentalium Brit-*

and customs. It must also be observed, that William the Conqueror, quarrelling with Malcolm III. gave Cumberland to Ranulph de Meschines. See Monast. Angl. I, 400.

tonum reges in deditionem accepit ; “ received submission from the kings of the Scots, Cumbri, Strat-Clyde Welsh ; and all the kings of the western Britons,” (now Welsh proper.)

3. Caradoc of Lancarvon, the most authentic of the Welsh writers, and who wrote about 1150, says, as above stated, “ the northern Britons of Strat-Clyde, AND Cumberland :” thus clearly distinguishing between these countries.

4. In 945, as English historians say, Edmund, king of England, gave Cumberland to Malcom I. of Scotland, on condition of homage. Some of the English historians called the territory given *Cumberland*, as the Saxon Chronicle, William of Malmsbury, Henry of Huntingdon : others call it *terram Cumborum*, “ the land of the Cumbri,” as Florence of Worcester, Roger Hoveden, and Simeon of Durham. This is a plain proof that the Cumbri held no country, save Cumberland.

5. In 945, Cumberland was resigned to Malcom I. and it was generally ruled by the intended successor to the Scottish (then Pikish) throne. But so late as 972, we find Dunwallon, a Welsh prince, sovereign of Strat-Clyde, as Caradoc, above cited, shews. In the time of Edgar of England (959 to 975), a Malcom was king of the Cumbri, as appears from William of Malmsbury, Simeon of Durham, Florence of Worcester : and at that very time Dunwallon was king of Strat-Clyde. This surely proves a difference between Cumbria and Strat-Clyde. Perhaps it may be said, that Dunwallon was the titular Welsh king, while Malcom really held the territory ; but it is believed that the idea of a titular king was not then known, and that when a family had lost a throne for about thirty years, as would be, in this supposition, the case with Cumbria, if the same with Strat-Clyde, the title was lost with the possession.

6. Had Cumbria extended from Cumberland to Dunbarton, the whole western part of the south of Scotland must have formed one continued Welsh kingdom; nor could the Piks have held Galloway, as it appears from Jocelin¹ they did even in the sixth century; and from old chronicles,² they did in the ninth, when Kenneth acceded to the Pikish throne; as from English writers they did in the twelfth, at the time of the War of the Standard. The Piks must in this case have been in the heart of this Welsh kingdom, and have divided it into two great parts; a matter unexampled and inconceivable.

7. Had Cumbria been of such extent, it must have been a kingdom 140 miles long, and in many places 60 broad; while all Wales is not above 120 miles long, and 60 broad. The power and force of this kingdom must therefore have been superior to those of all Wales united. Let the reader but coolly reflect on the consequences of this supposition. If Wales, though split into three divisions, made such a figure in history, what must Cumbria have done? Could so great a kingdom almost escape the notice of historians? While Wales produced so many writers, how could Cumbria produce but one or two? Could such a kingdom, bordering on the Irish sea, escape the notice of the Irish writers, who yet mark so much concerning Pikland, and the petty kingdom of Dalriada? Could so large a state escape Beda, who narrates so many events that befel in and about it? All these, and many other views, in which this supposition may be placed, hold it out in so absurd a light, that every reasonable man will at once reject it. Whereas, if we grant Strat-Clyde and Cumbria to have been two petty Welsh kingdoms, at a distance from each other, all this absurdity vanishes. Nor

¹ Vita Kentegerni.

² Reg. St. And. apud Innes: and see Part V.

can I see how Innes could sincerely imagine that Cumbria was of such vast extent as the *Inquisitio* marks.

8. The names themselves are here of the greatest weight. Adomnan's king of Petra Cloithe, or the rock of Clyde, or Alclyde, as *Al* in Welsh means a rock, is so nearly allied by name to Strat-Clyde, that it were most reasonable, from this alone, to infer them one and the same; especially seeing that it is unquestionably Dunbarton on the Clyde in Scotland which is meant by Adomnan, and that Strat-Clyde is mentioned as near the Piks; so that it must also have been on the Clyde in Scotland, as above shewn. In like manner Cumbria, from the first mention of it to the last, is by authentic English writers used solely for Cumberland; and "the land of the Cumbri," and "Cumberland," are used alternately, as also above noted. Not one hint can be brought from any writer, that the meaning of the words Cumbri and Cumbria was so abridged, as to pass at first for all the south-west of Scotland, and afterward be confined to a county of England.

From these arguments it is believed that Cumbria will, in spite of the ambition of the see of Glasgow, be for ever restored to its true circumscription of Cumberland in England: and we are happily no longer in fear that some future venal scribe should change an *a* into an *u*; and for *regnum Cambrense*, read *regnum Cumbrense*. Jocelin always uses the former for the kingdom of Strat-Clyde; and though he extends it over all the south of Scotland, east and west, yet he does not include Cumberland in it, as he makes it terminate at the wall of Severus.* Ha-

* *Diocesis vero episcopatus ejus [Kentegerni] secundum limites Cambrensis regni extendebatur; quod utique regnum sicut vallum quondam a Severo principe a mari usque ad mare . . . et usque ad flumen Fordense pertingit, &c.—Vita Kentegerni, MS, Bibl. Cotton.*

ving thus shewn Cumbria to have been totally different from Strat-Clyde, let us proceed to mark every thing that can be found in history concerning it, while a separate kingdom. Its northern boundaries were certainly not more extended than those of present Cumberland, being chiefly the river Esk, which runs into Solway Firth; but it is more likely that the wall of Gallio, the *Piks Wall*, was the northern frontier, as we find in Beda that the Piks in 426 seized the country up to that wall. The west boundary is the sea. The east, the river of South Tyne, which parts it from Northumberland. The south boundary is more difficult to adjust; but it is generally supposed that Westmoreland, and a small part of Lancashire, were included in ancient Cumbria: and this seems confirmed by the Domesday Book, which omits Cumberland, Westmoreland, and a small part of Lancashire, as not belonging to England. Northumberland is also omitted in the Domesday Book, having Danish independent princes till 953, when earls, nearly as independent, followed; as may be seen in Hoveden, and others. These earls continued till the time of William II. who took Northumberland into his own hands, as did Henry I. as appears from Hoveden, and from a list of these earls of the 12th or 13th age, in the Cotton Library, Domit. D. VIII. given in the Appendix.

The Britons, who retired to the mountains of the western coast, were little noticed or regarded by the Saxon invaders, who were content with the plenty of the eastern plains. Hence little or no information can be derived concerning even Wales, the greatest possession of these Britons, from the Saxon authors. No wonder then that the Strat-Clyde Welsh, and the Cumbri, almost escaped their notice. The division of England into petty kingdoms, which in fact lasted till 959, when Edwy, king of the West Saxons, dying,

Edgar became first king of all England, also contributed to our want of information, by occasioning such confusion, that even the Saxon history is obscure. In constant dissensions among themselves, they had other employment than to attend to the situation or affairs of their neighbours. In Beda's time, when the first light arises, it is, as Spenser phrases,

“ A little glimmering light, much like a shade.”

That venerable writer is so occupied with miracles, that he hardly deigns to speak of secular matters ; but, in return, what little he says is most just and authentic. We can only learn from him, that the Britons were confined to the west of England, and seem in his time to have held all the western shore, from Cumberland to Cornwall ; as for their states, or divisions, we learn nothing, he speaking of them only in general, by the name of Britones, or old Britons. From Nennius, and Samuel, his helper, who both wrote about 858, we learn as little ; they mentioning only the Britons in general, as Beda, and relating little or nothing, but concerning Vortigern and Hengist ; so that they might from their story be placed in 620, as some have done, as well as at their real period.* The Danes began to invade England in the eighth century, generally ravaging the north ; and seizing on Northumberland entirely in 876, held it ever after. In

* The work of Nennius and Samuel is not a *history*, but an account of the settlement of the various nations in Britain. It goes no lower than Vortigern's death, 473. But the Welsh have no connection with the early British kings, who were Belgic, or English. Their history begins about the year 600, after they were pent up in present Wales. Nennius, in his preface, dates his work 858, in the 24th year of king Mervin. A critical examination of Welsh history is much wanted ; but Irish and Welsh history can only be examined by persons perfectly skilled in these languages, especially the ancient, which differs as much from the modern, as Saxon and English, or as all other languages do.

such confusion, and want of information, no wonder we learn nothing of the Britons in Cumberland, while the knowledge of Bernicia, an adjoining Anglie kingdom, has almost perished ; and that of Northumberland, though the most powerful of the heptarchy, is most obscure. In Cumbria, no saint, nor writer, happened to be born or conversant. The most covetous invaders turned with contempt from its wild mountains and romantic lakes, now so much admired. They produced no gold, nor pearls. Deer and goats were no objects of prey. The inhabitants lived concealed amid their mountain barriers ; and neither glory nor gain could spring from attacking them. And who encounters danger, where neither glory nor gain can be got ?

The very first mention we find of the Cumbri is by the English historians, in treating the reign of Edward the Elder (900—925 ;) when they are mentioned among the nations who owned him as father and lord.

In 937, we find Eugenius, or Owen, king of Cumbria, surrendering to Edmund of England. *Will. Malmsb. &c.*

In 938, we find the same king at the great and famous battle of Brunenburg. *Idem, &c.*

In 945, Edmund gave Cumbria to Malcom I. of Scotland, on condition of homage, and defending the north of England against the Danes. *Saxon Chron. Hoveden, Huntingdon, Malmsbury.* Matthew of Westminster says, that King Edmund, with the assistance of Leolin, king of Demetia, (South Wales,) despoiled Cumbria of all its wealth, and, depriving of their eyes the two sons of Dunmail, king of that province, gave it to Malcom, king of Scotland, to be held of him, and on condition of defending the north of England, by sea and land, from the incursions of enemies. This Dunmail is the only Welsh king of Cumbria whose name is preserved by English writers. There

is a very slight resemblance between his name and that of Dunwallon, the last king of Strat-Clyde ; but the difference is great enough to prevent any suspicion of the one being taken for the other ; and it was surely after the death of Dunmail, and during the minority of his sons, that Edmund conquered Cumbria, in 945 ; whereas Dunwallon died in 972, or after.

After this surrender of Cumbria to Scotland, the heir apparent of the Scottish crown was generally appointed prince, or king, as then styled, of that province, and resided in it as in a distinct sovereignty.

In the reign of Edgar of England (959 to 975,) we find a Malcom king of Cumbria, under Kenneth IV. of Scotland, who succeeded in 970.

In the year 1000, Ethelred of England wasted Cumbria. *Simeon of Durham.*

In 1054, Siward, earl of Northumberland, was sent by Edward, king of England, to assist Malcom, son of the king of Cumbria, in asserting his claim to the Scottish throne. Siward died in 1055, having returned to Northumberland ; but Malcom ascended the throne in 1056. Thus Hoveden and other English writers style Malcom III. son of the king of the Cumbri ; and rightly, as shall be shewn in Part V. After this, Cumbria seems to have been immediately held by the kings of Scotland, and not committed to the charge of the successor.

I have intentionally reserved Fordun's hints about Cumbria to the end. The first mention he makes of Cumbria is, Lib. IV. c. 21, where he tells, that Constantine, son of Ed. (904—944,) gave Cumbria to Eugenius, son of Dovenald, his apparent successor. This testimony of Fordun is strongly confirmed by William of Malmsbury, the chief of the English historians, and who wrote in the twelfth century ; for he names Eugenius as king of Cumbria in 934. But how shall we reconcile it with that of Matthew of

Westminster, concerning the sons of Dunmail? If one authority must fall, Matthew's must yield, for he did not write till two centuries after Williams. But Matthew's is circumstantial, and apparently true, so that to reconcile both would be best. Constantine of Scotland, a warlike and active prince, had apparently seized on Cumbria, and appointed Eogan, or Eugenius, king; which was, as Fordun says, in the sixteenth year of his reign, or in 920. Edward the Elder, in whose reign this happened, was occupied in constant contests with the Danes; and perhaps he favoured Constantine's possession of Cumbria, as a new check on the Danes; and if the kings of the Scots and Cumbri acknowledged Edward as lord, it must have been on this occasion. In 934, Athelstan, king of England, quarrelled with Constantine, and ravaged the south of Scotland. Eugenius, king of Cumbria, seems on this event to have taken refuge in Scotland; and William of Malmsbury, and others, say he surrendered his crown to Athelstan, either now, or in 938, after the great battle of Brunenburg. Upon this the old line of Cumbrian kings naturally came to the throne; and Dunmail seems to have been the heir, who was dead, as appears, before 945, when his sons were torn from the succession by Edmund. This account has every probability upon its side, and much more verisimilitude than that Edmund should conquer the kingdom, and present it to Malcom. Such presents are rarely made. It was however proper and reasonable, that homage should be performed for it to the kings of England, within whose dominions it lay. The Danes were then the great scourge and terror of the English kings; and Edmund seems to have followed the policy of Edward, and to have been glad by resigning a province, never in fact subject to England, to acquire a powerful vassal in his defence against the Danes.

Fordun, in the same book, ch. 26, tells, that Edmund knowing the Cumbri to favour the Scottish more than the English, and wishing Malcom as an ally against the Danes, delivered up Cumbria to him and his successors for ever. Constantine had, as Fordun says, introduced the custom of appointing the heir to the throne king of Cumbria. In 953, the first year of his reign, Indulf appointed Odo, surnamed Duff, son of Malcom, king of Cumbria. (Fordun, IV. 27.) To Duff, who ascended the Scottish throne in 961, succeeded Malcom, his son; who is mentioned by English historians as king of Cumbria in the reign of Edgar (959 to 975.) Then followed another Malcom, son of Kenneth IV. in the time of Ethelred (979—1016,) and of Kenneth IV. who died 992. It was in his time that Ethelred, A° 1000, ravaged Cumbria, because Malcom refused tribute. (Fordun, IV. 36. 38.) In 1001 this Malcom ascended the throne of Scotland, having slain Grim; and, toward the middle of his reign, gave Cumbria to Duncan, his grandson, who succeeded him in 1031; upon which another Duncan, the son of the Scottish king, was appointed king of Cumbria. He is the last king of Cumbria mentioned; Malcom III. his son, who acceded to the throne of Scotland in 1056, keeping that principality in his own hands, as did his successors, till the reign of Malcom IV. (1163,) who surrendered Cumbria to Henry II. of England.

In the Welsh writers we might expect some intelligence concerning the Welsh line of kings of Cumbria. Caradoc mentions that Kentigern, who lived about 600, was grandson to URIEN, king of Cumbria,¹

¹ Urien lived about 560, and many notices concerning him may be found in Evans's Specimens of Welsh Poetry. He was the most famous of all the kings of Cumbria, being the *Urbgen* of the additions to Nennius, *cap. ult.* and in his court flourished the three

and son of Owen, regent of Scotland; for so the Welsh writers sometimes call Strat-Clyde, as being the only Welsh kingdom in Scotland; as the Scots, from the same reason, reversed the name, and called it *regnum Cambrense*, or the Welsh kingdom. The same writer mentions that about 616 Eneon Bhrenin, a king of these Scots, as he calls them, resigning his royalty, came to Llyn in Gwyneth (North Wales,) where he built a church, still called from him Llan Eingan Bhrenin, near which he lived in religious retirement. The title of king was in these days as general as that of prince now in Germany; any independent baron was a king: and thus we find, in Caradoc, kings of Cardigan, Dyfed, and Guentland, in Wales. That Eneon was not the king of Strat-Clyde, is clear from Jocelin; and indeed Caradoc himself adds, “a considerable prince in the north of Britain,” which were ridiculous had he been the king. This Eneon, our author says, was son of Owen Danun, son of Eneon Irth, son of CUNETHA Wledic, king of Cumbria. This Cunetha lived, as we learn from Price’s Description of Wales,¹ 540 years after Christ. Urien seems to have succeeded him in the throne of Cumbria.

If we trust Langhorne’s authorities, OWEN,² the great bards, Taliesin, Aneurin, and Llywarch Hen. Evans gives specimens of their poetry; and they are all in *rhime*, in the same form with those he gives of the 13th century! It was a common trade with the bards to forge poems in the names of celebrated predecessors; and these pretended pieces are palpably of the 11th and 12th centuries. Was Mr Evans ignorant that rhyme was not used till a late period? That Mr Gray should be imposed on by such pieces would be surprising, did not all know that historic antiquities are not studied in Britain. *Apaga Nugas!*

¹ Prefixt to the last edition of Caradoc of Lancarvon, London, 1697, 8vo.

² In his Chronicon Regum Anglorum, Londini, 1697, 8vo. he gives the following table. “*Reges Cumbriæ et Alcludæ*. Navus seu Caunus Gildæ pater, Hoel, Huelin, vel Cuil. Anonymus pater

son of Urien, seems to have followed; and then CARETIC. After an interval, DEOVAMA was contemporary with Edbert of Northumberland, 738. Then an ANONYMOUS king assisted Osbert of Northumberland against the Scots. Humphrey Lluyd mentions a CONSTANTINE, king of Cumbria, killed at Lochma-ben about 870; upon which event, as he says, many of the Welsh of Cumbria and Strat-Clyde passed to Clyde in Wales, and erected a kingdom called Strat-Clyde; but, as Williams shews that not a tittle of this can be found in any Welsh Annals, Lluyd seems to have borrowed this relation solely from Hector Boyce;¹ so that it must be regarded as a mere dream. And though there is every reason to think that on the destruction of the Welsh kingdom of Cumbria in 945, and of Strat-Clyde about 970, a great part of their inhabitants went to Wales, yet they there mingled with their brethren, and preserved no separate distinction; else they could not have escaped the notice of Giraldus, so particular in other matters. There is no reason to imagine that the little Welsh vale of Clyde was ever mentioned in English history;

Sancti Petroci. Marcus. Angusellus Lothi et Uriani frater. Evenus Uriani filius. Rodericus. Cereticus. Hoanus, sive Oenus, Donaldum Breccum Scotorum regem interfecit. Deovama Edberto Northumbrensi contemporaneus. Anonymus Osberto Northumbrensi contra Scotos fœderatus. Constantinus ejus filius a Gregorio Scotorum rege occisus. Hebertus Constantini frater. Eugenius Athelstano Anglo contemporaneus. Dunwallo sive Dunmail regno exutus." This list is full of errors, by confounding Cumbria and Strat-Clyde, and by taking some from Geoffrey of Monmouth and Lluyd, no authorities.

The kings and nobles of the North are noted in Welsh poetry, as Mr Evans remarks in his *Fragments* of it. Aneurim, author of the *Gododin*, was of the North; and perhaps from Welsh MSS. we might learn whether of Strat-Clyde or Cumbria. Merlin the Wild was of Strat-Clyde, as is clear from his *Life* by Geoffrey, compared with Adomnan and Jocelin.

¹ In whose history it occurs *literatim*, fol. 217 of the first edition, among the fabulous transactions of his Gregory the Great.

and even in that of Wales it is only mentioned twice, as ravaged, or encamped in, by the English, when they attacked Wales on the north. Caradoc, or his interpolator, says, that after the death of Roderic the Great, king of all Wales, in 876, many of the Welsh of Strat-Clyde and Cumbria passed into Wales under one Hobert, because they were much troubled by the Danes in their old seats.¹ This is extremely probable, as we know from Asser, and others, that the Danes in 875 ravaged the country of the Piks, and Strat-Clyde. But these refugees erected no kingdom, nor seized any country from the Saxons, as Lluyd pretends. And we know from the most authentic writers, as above shewn, that the Welsh held Cumbria till 945, and Strat-Clyde till about 970, at least. Lluyd is even so ignorant as to make his Constantine, who, as he fables, was killed at Lochmaben in 870, king of a vast territory, including Strat-Clyde, Cumbria, and Galloway! But his errors are so wild that they confute themselves, though they had the fortune in their day to excite the scorn of Languet, and anger of Buchanan.²

¹ Probably from Boyce, f. v. 217.

² Languet, in his *Epistles to Sir Philip Sidney*, has many contemptuous remarks on Lluyd's *Commentariolum*; such as, "Ego non ita contemno tuum Cambrum ut tu scribis, nam nisi esset in ipso aliquid ingenii, non posset tam insigniter ineptire," &c. Buchanan's *Second Book* is idly occupied with a warm battle against Lluyd; and nothing can be more diverting than to see one fabulist fighting against another.

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Lizars Edin.

PART III.

*The Northern Britons, otherwise called
Caledonians, or Piks.*

PART III.

The Northern Division, otherwise called
The Division of Hills.

PART III.

The Northern Britons, otherwise called Caledonians, or Piks.

CHAPTER I.

The Northern Britons, Caledonians, Piks, one and the same People.

ALL the inhabitants of Britain were anciently, as now, styled Britons, though of very different origins. The Belgæ of the south and east, who were Germans, and used the Scythic or Gothic tongue, were equally Britons with the Cimbri, Cumri, or Welsh, of the west, who were Celts. The Caledonians of the north, who were also Germans from Scandinavia, are called Britons by Tacitus, Herodian, and Dio; and with the utmost propriety, as inhabitants of Britain: just as now the English are Britons, as well as the Welsh, though widely different in origin, speech, and manners; and as we call the British settlers in America, Americans. But, after the Roman power had been a long time established in Britain, the name of Britons was considered as confined to the provincials; and toward the close of the third century, or the year 296, we first find the Piks, or Caledonians, mentioned

as not Britons, but enemies of the Britons, even from the time of Julius Cæsar.¹

In the great ignorance which attended the decline of the Roman empire, the affairs of Britain, ever obscure, because of the distance of this island from Rome, the seat of science, were clouded with almost total darkness. Insomuch, that about 550 we find Procopius² describing Britain as the land of departed souls. No wonder then that in Britain itself, where no writers arose, all genuine materials for history should perish. Gildas, the first British writer, was born in the year of the battle of Badon, as he tells us, ch. 26. that is, in 520 ; and he wrote, as he there says, forty years after it, or in 560. A tumultuous period of more than a century had elapsed, between the arrival of the Saxons and his time ; and, as there was no difference between the Belgæ and Saxons in speech, and the latter had made the former their *coloni* and slaves, Gildas naturally thought his Welsh countrymen the genuine Britons, and calls them Britons exclusively ; an error which modern indolence and superficiality have, as usual, blindly followed. Indeed the Roman troops who held Britain, being stationed along the walls of Antoninus and Hadrian, and in the midst of the Welsh inhabitants of Britain, called them Britons, and their tongue the British ; regarding the Belgæ as late settlers, and the Welsh as the people produced by the island itself, or genuine Britons. We ourselves speak of Americans, without specifying whether we mean the first savages, or European settlers ; and of Britons, without specifying English or Welsh, Scotch or Irish of the highlands ; yet we use Britons also specially for Welsh, and the British for the Welsh tongue. These inaccuracies are understood at the time ; but in the course of ages

¹ Panegy. Vet.

² Lib. IV. and see Appendix.

cause great confusion. It is therefore necessary to attend to them ; and to reflect that at first, as natural, the Romans called all the nations found in Britain by the name of Britons ; that, after they had subdued the greater part of it, they naturally blended the whole inhabitants of the subdued part under the name of Britons, calling the Caledonians, or Piks, who were alone unsubdued, by their own name ; and that the Welsh were peculiarly called Britons then, as now ; though they by no means constituted all the Britons. Without attending to these circumstances, we shall fall into an error found in the modern writers ; namely, that the Piks and Belgæ were Welsh, because they were Britons. The Piks and Belgæ were indeed Britons, as the English now ; but no more Welsh, or Celts, than the English now. There is nothing new under the sun ; and antiquaries might avoid many errors by recourse to analogy. So much for the Piks being called Britons by Tacitus, and others ; who at the same time call them Caledonians, and their country Caledonia.

That the Caledonians and Piks were one and the same people, is now universally allowed ; and it is almost ridiculous to shew this, for, as the ancient Spartan said to him who had composed an eulogy on Hercules, *Does any one dispraise him ?* so it may be said here, *Is any one ignorant of this ?* Buchanan, Camden, Lloyd, Innes, Whitaker, the Macphersons, O'Connor, D'Anville, though differing widely in other points, all join here. Stillingfleet, in the same work,¹ first doubts ; then grants this. Usher is more doubtful, for he produces the words of Tacitus, that the Caledonians were of German origin, to shew that the Piks were of Scandinavia ; and the words of Eumenius, shewing the Caledonians to have been Piks, and

¹ Origines Sacræ, p. 246.

that the Piks infested the Britons before the time of Julius ; then he gives us Geoffrey of Monmouth, from whom he draws three later Pikish colonies to have entered Britain after the time of christianity. It is impossible even to guess at his thoughts on the occasion. In his whole work there is a most remarkable defect of understanding. All authorities are quite alike to him. Tacitus and Hector Boethius, Beda and Geoffrey of Monmouth ; historians and fabulists ; writers of the first century and of the seventeenth ; are all jumbled together in uniform confusion ; are all quoted with equal attention and confidence. If one were desired to mention a work capable of shewing that an author may be vastly and profoundly learned, without possessing common judgment, Usher's *Antiquitates Britannicarum Ecclesiarum* might be produced as an instance. Yet is this work precious as a commonplace book, for he gives all that all have said upon his subject ; and, had his judgment equalled his learning and diligence, he would have been the most valuable antiquary that the British islands ever produced. With regard to the three colonies, as they rest solely on Geoffrey of Monmouth, and authors who follow him, I shall not abuse the reader's attention so far, as to offer even one remark on them.

It once appeared to me, before a complete examination of this subject, that the Piks were a new race, who had come in upon the Caledonians in the third century, and expelled them ; and that the Caledonians were Cumraig Britons. But finding Tacitus, Eumenius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Beda, in full and direct opposition to this idea ; and not chusing to imitate our Scottish antiquists in fighting against authorities, which are the sole foundation of historic truth, I was forced to abandon this ground, though perhaps many an acute and wise argument might

have been employed in it, to prove truth falsehood, and falsehood truth. For ancient authors are the sole guides to real truth in historic antiquities ; conjectures and arguments are only ingenious fictions.

That the Caledonians and Piks were the same, is in fact as incontrovertible, as that the same people who called themselves *Hellenes* were called *Græci* by the Romans. This will appear to the reader from the accounts of the ancients concerning them, which shall here be briefly stated, and will at once ascertain their identity.

Tacitus is the first writer from whom information can be drawn on this subject ; for, before the campaign of Agricola, Caledonia was unknown to the Romans. He calls this country, being all that part of Britain which is to the north of Loch Fyn and Tay, by the special name of CALEDONIA ; and that always when it is mentioned, so that the name was fixt and precise. The people he calls by the general name of *Britanni* ; but expressly gives his opinion that they came from Germany, because they resembled the Germans in their large persons, and red hair ;¹ whereas he thinks the other Britons came from Gaul. This sufficiently marks the Britons of Caledonia to have differed from the rest ; and the signs given by Tacitus are, in a savage state of society, very striking and obvious.

Ptolemy, forty years after, marks the people of this part of Britain by the name of ΚΑΛΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ,² or Ca-

¹ Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant.—*Agricola*.

² Ἀπο δε τῆς Λαιλαμονίου κόλπου μέχρι τῆς Οὐαράς εἰσχυσιως Καληδονιοι ; καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καληδονιος δρυμος. “ From the *Lelamonius Sinus* (Loch Fyn) to the frith of *Varar* (Murray) are the Caledonii ; and above them the Caledonian Forest.” As the province *Vespasiana* existed in Ptolemy’s time, he regards it as Roman, and the Caledonians as confined beyond its limits, that is, in the present Highlands. With geographers *above* implies the north, but Ptolemy’s north is really the west of Scotland, so that the Caledonian Forest was on the west of the Highlands.

ledonians, and gives us the names of all their tribes, or shires, as we might now style them.

Dio, who wrote about 230, or the century after Ptolemy, also calls this people Caledonians. As all Britain up to the wall of Hadrian had now long been provincial, that part was regarded as wholly Roman; and this writer speaks of the Mæatæ, or Cumri between the walls, and the Caledonians beyond them, as the only two nations in Britain; that is, the only two nations who kept up the British name as *Barbari*, not *Romani*. For the provincials were often styled *Romani*; and the world was regarded as either *Romanus* or *Barbarus*. A distinction as old as the days of Ovid, who uses *Barbaria* often, in his *Tristia*, for all without the Roman pale.

In 296, the name of *Picti* is first used by Eumenius the Panegyrist, in his oration, spoken at the end of that year, upon the victory of Constantius over Allectus. The passage is a famous one; and the more so, as its construction in the old editions puzzled Buchanan, and the best Latin scholars. No apology needs therefore be made for dwelling a little on its explanation. A large piece of the preceding text is also given, that the connection may be clear.

Quam [Britanniam] Cæsar, ille auctor vestri nominis, cum Romanorum primus intrasset, alium se orbem terrarum scripsit reperisse; tantæ magnitudinis arbitratus, ut, non circumfusa oceano, sed complexa ipsum oceanum, videretur. Sedenim, illa ætate, nec Britannia ullis erat ad navale bellum armata navigiis; et Romana res inde jam a Punicis, Asiaticisque, bellis, etiam recenti exercitata Piratico, et postea Mithridatico, non magis terrestri quam navali usu vigeat. Adhuc natio etiam tunc rudis, et soli Britanni, Pictis modo, et Hibernis, assueta hostibus adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt. Prope ut hoc uno Cæsar gloriari in illa expeditione debuerit quod navigasset oceanum. Eumen.

Panegy. Constantio, *apud* Panegy. Vet. Livineii, Antv. 1599. 8vo. n. xi. prope medium orat.

The sentence beginning *Adhoc natio*, &c. and in which the Piks are mentioned, is most obscure. Buchanan proposes to understand *soli Britanni* in the genitive, “of the British soil;” and the meaning would be, “Moreover, the nation then rude, and only used to the Piks and Irish of the British soil, enemies even half naked, easily yielded to the Roman arms.” Strange that Buchanan,¹ so able a Latinist, should suppose *Britanni* here used adjectively, while *Britannici* is the common word used in prose in that way. *Britannus* is merely a Briton; *Britannicus*, British. But let us hear the unprejudiced interpretation of foreigners, whose judgment on this subject must be unbiassed, and who indeed uniformly conspire against the little local prejudices of even our best writers. Jaques de le Baune, the learned editor of the edition for the use of the Dauphin, gives us the sentence, and notes, thus:

Adhoc natio * *etiam tunc rudis, et soli Britanni, Pictis modo et Hibernis* † *assueta, hostibus adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis, signisque, cesserunt.*

NOTES. * *Duarum vocularum transpositio obscuritatem huic sententiæ induxit; ita vero hanc restituit Acidalius: Adhoc natio etiam tunc rudis. [A] Pictis modo et Hibernis assueta hostibus: adhuc seminudi, [et soli, Britanni] facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt.*

† *Pictis] Picti populi sunt Scotiæ cis Tavam fluvium.*

Hibernis] Populi insulam oceani Britannici incolentes non minorem Anglia.

* Sir George Mackenzie attempts to confirm Buchanan’s interpretation, from Lucretius,

Nam quid Britannum cælum differre putamus,
and Claudian,

Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni
Littoris.

But Sir George ought to have known that poetical licence will never authorize prose. The diminishing of words, called *aphæresis*, &c.

This correction of Acidalius was most plausible, and approved by all, till the last valuable edition of the Panegyrist, by Schwarzius and Jæger, appeared at Nurenberg, 1779, in two volumes octavo. In which, from an excellent manuscript often used and referred to in that edition, this famous sentence stands ultimately blameless, and perfect, thus :

Ad hoc natio etiam tunc rudis ; et solis Britanni Pictis modo et Hibernis adsueti hostibus, adhuc seminudi, facile Romanis armis, signisque, cesserunt.

In the notes is first given the correction of Acidalius, as above ; then follows,

Proba hæc lectio ex MS. Gud. et solis Britanni Pictis modo et Hibernis adsueti hostibus, adhuc seminudi, facile Romanis armis, signisque, cesserunt. Sic magis exprimitur quasi vilitas veterum Britannorum, qui quondam eo facilius a Julio Cæsare vinci superarique potuerunt, quod solis Pictis et Hibernis hostibus olim adsueti fuerint ; et quod sine gravi armorum genere, adhuc seminudi, prælia inierint.—Schwarz.

If, with Acidalius, who wrote about the year 1620, we had read *solis Britanni*, we must have understood that Cæsar fought with *Britons alone*, whereas Allectus had also Roman soldiers ; so that Constantius did more than Cæsar, as he fought not with Britons alone, but with Romans. But this reading of the MS. above-mentioned, puts this out of the question ; and the whole passage above produced may be translated as follows. The Panegyrist, to shew the greatness of the actions of Constantius in Britain, compares them to those of Julius Cæsar.

“ *Which island of Britain when Cæsar, he the author of your name, had entered first of the Romans, he wrote*

by grammarians, is common in Greek and Latin poetry, but never used in prose at all ; and for a good reason, because the rhythm forced poets to use it, whereas in prose it could serve no purpose in the world.

that he had found another world ; thinking it of so great size, that it might seem not to be surrounded with the ocean, but to embrace and command it. But still in that age Britain was provided with no ships for naval war ; while Rome, even from the Punic and Asiatic wars, and also recently exercised with those of the pirates, and of Mithridates, flourished not more by land than by sea. Moreover, the nation he attacked was then rude ; and the Britons, used only to the Piks and Irish as enemies, and being yet themselves but half naked, easily yielded to the Roman arms and ensigns."

Eumenius lived at Augustodunum, or Autun, in Burgundy, a place now so famous for its number of Roman antiquities, that it has been called the French Rome. He was there professor of rhetoric ;¹ and pronounced this oration in presence of Constantius Chlorus, on his victory over Allectus, who had slain Carausius, and usurped the imperial title in Britain, and who fell in the battle which was fought in the year 296. All commentators agree that this oration was pronounced in the end of that year. Constantius was then only *Cæsar*, whence Eumenius calls Julius the author of his name, which was always given to an apparent successor to the empire. This custom of pronouncing panegyrics on the emperors and Cæsars, in their presence, seems to have begun in the time of Trajan ; and Pliny's Panegyric on that prince, pronounced in his presence, is extant and well known. Greater accuracy in facts, and in expression, was naturally expected, and necessarily exercised, on such solemn and trying occasions, when the first audience in the world were witnesses of the narration of their own actions, than even in history, where the writer remained unawed and unchecked in the silence

¹ See the prolegomena to the editions of the Panegyrists, *Delphini*, or *Schwarzii*.

of his cabinet. Hence the great anxiety shewn by Eumenius and the other Panegyrist. In his oration to Constantine, the ninth in the collection, Eumenius expresses the utmost awe on the occasion; and says that what is spoken must be *diu scriptum, et sæpe tractatum*, “a long time written, and often revised.” And, in beginning this to Constantius, he is more than ordinarily solicitous, observing, among other points, *Quo in genere orationis quanta esset cura, quantus labor, quam sollicita veneratio!* “In this kind of oration how great the care, how severe the labour, how anxious the veneration!”

As such accuracy and care were required, and Eumenius, from his residence in Gaul, had opportunity for all information concerning Britain, we may rely upon his testimony as most authentic. And it is valuable, not only for the very first mention of the Piks, but as it shews that, even before the time of Julius, they had infested the Britons. Now the Britons, in all these orations, are uniformly the provincial Britons. At this time, as formerly shewn, the name of Mæatae had utterly perished; and there is every room to believe that, when Carausius divided Britain from the Roman empire, in the year 286, the Mæatae gladly joined their British brethren, in asserting his right against the Roman Emperors; and that under him their name was lost in the general one of Britons. For, after this period, the Roman writers know of no Britons beyond the Clyde and Forth. The Piks are considered as not Britons, though undoubtedly in Britain. When all were barbarous alike, all the nations in the island were Britons: but in process of time the nations south of the Clyde and Forth became romanized; and it was discovered that the Caledonians, or people beyond these rivers, were quite a distinct people from the Cumraig Britons, their southern neighbours, and the chief inhabitants of the island

in number. The name of Caledonians, or Woodlanders, given them by the Welsh, was exchanged for their real name, the name they gave themselves, *PIHTAR*; latinized, *PICTI*. Perhaps it may be thought that as the Piks were really the *Vik Veriar* of Norway, and had that name in all appearance long before they came to Scotland, Eumenius meant to express the invasions of Britain by the Piks from Norway, before they effected a settlement. But it will be afterward shewn, that the Piks were questionless settled in that part of Britain which lies north of the Clyde and Forth, long before the time of Julius, so that this idea must fall of course. And the Romans could have no knowledge that the Piks ever were in Norway, or ever invaded Britain from thence, if they even knew that Norway existed: they only knew them as of Caledonia, a country now long divided from provincial Britain, and considered as another land. That Eumenius, in particular, only regarded them in this view, will appear from another passage of his, now to be produced.

This occurs in the Panegyric to Constantine I. son of Constantius, spoken in March, 310, as the commentators shew, and is at full length as follows:

Dies me ante deficiet, quam oratio, si omnia Patris tui facta, vel hac brevitae, percurram. Cujus etiam suprema illa expeditio non Britannica tropæa, (ut vulgo creditum est) expetivit; sed, diis jam vocantibus, ad intimum terrarum limen accessit. Neque enim ille tot tantisque rebus gestis, non dico Caledonum, aliorumque Pictorum, silvas, et paludes, sed nec Hiberniam proximam, nec Thulen ultimam, nec ipsas, si quæ sunt, Fortunatorum insulas, dignatur acquirere: sed (quod eloqui nemo voluit), iturus ad deos, genitorem illum deorum ignea cæli astra refoventem prospexit Oceanum; ut, fruiturus exinde luce perpetua, jam videret illic diem pæne continuum. Vere enim profecto illi superum tem-

pla patuerunt ; receptusque est consessu cæli Jove ipso dexteram porrigente.

This passage has no variation whatever, either in MSS. or editions. To understand it, we must observe, that the Caledonians or Piks making incursions into provincial Britain in 306, Constantius Chlorus, who a year or two before became emperor (*Augustus*) of Gaul and Britain, prepared to repel them. As he was setting sail from Gaul for that purpose, his son Constantine, (afterward the first Christian emperor) whom Galerius had detained in Italy as an hostage, escaped and came to him. They proceeded into Britain together, when the Piks were repelled ; and Constantius soon after died of a fever at York, that same year. The panegyrist, with rhetorical fancy, takes advantage of this expedition of Constantius, just before his death, into the north of Britain, famous among the Romans for the sun's being hardly ever beneath the horizon in summer, and for being regarded as another Thule, and extremity of the world. Hence the orator represents this expedition into the secret recesses of the ocean, perpetually enlightened by the sun, as a meet preparation of Constantius for his journey to the Elysian fields, which were pictured with similar circumstances, of remote station in the ocean, and eternal sunshine. Take this translation.

“ The day would fail before my oration, if I were to run over all the deeds of thy father, even with this brevity. His last expedition did not seek for British trophies, (as vulgarly believed,) but the gods already calling him, he came to the most secret bound of the earth. For by so many, and so great, actions, he deigns not to acquire, I will not say the woods and marshes of the Caledonians and other Piks, but Ireland, which lies nighest, nor distant Thule, nor even, if such there be, the Islands of the Fortunate themselves ; but, (what none inclined to speak,) being about to go to the gods,

he beheld the ocean, that father of the gods, refreshing the fiery stars of heaven ; that, being about thence to enjoy perpetual light, he might have a foresight of eternal day. For in the end of spring, the temples of the gods were open to him ; and he was received into the assembly of heaven, Jove himself reaching to him his right hand."

It appears unquestionably from this passage that the Caledonians were Piks : and this is happily marked by the very author who first uses the name of *Picti*, so that not a doubt can remain even with the most ignorant. The other Piks were those of the Hebudes and Orkneys, and perhaps the *Vecturiones*, or Southern Piks of Fifeshire, &c. who are put by Ammianus Marcellinus as one of the two divisions of the Piks ; the *Dicaledones* being the other. Lindenbrogius¹ inclines to think that the *Caledones* of Eumenius should be read *Dicaledones*, as Ammianus writes them. But not one MS. or edition has the least hint of this, as may be seen in the latest and best editions, for the Dauphin, and of Schwartz and Jæger. *Non Dicaledonum*, as Lindenbrogius proposes to read for *non dico Caledonum*, spoils the sense of the passage, and cannot be received ; though indeed it were absurd to alter a text for a conjecture, in spite of all MSS. and editions. Lindenbrogius, I believe, mentions that some nameless MSS. read so ; but such assertions are frequent among critics, warm

¹ In notis ad Ammian. Marcellin. as quoted by Goodal, in his Introduction to Fordun. Goodal supports this opinion, 1. Because the readings of MSS. ought to be preferred. 2. Because *Caledones* is not used by other writers, but *Caledonii*. To the 1st answer, that not one MS. has been found which reads *Dicaledonum*. 2d. That not one Latin author uses *Caledonii*. Tacitus has only *Caledonia* : the Greeks, Ptolemy and Dio, have indeed *Καληδονιοι*. But the latter argument is feeble, for all know such terms to be identic, as *Brito*, *Britannus* ; *Franco*, *Francus* ; *Burgundio*, *Burgundus*, &c. &c.

in their conjectures : and as this MS. has escaped all editors, it is probable it never existed, save in the brain of this commentator ; and can in no event be preferred to the several MSS. followed by editors.

Ammianus Marcellinus, under the year 360, mentions the Piks thus : *In Britannii cum Scotorum Pictorumque, gentium ferarum, excursus, rupta quiete, condicta loca limitibus vicina vastarent, &c.* “ In Britain, when the excursion of the Scots and Piks, fierce nations, having broken the peace, ravaged the APPOINTED GROUNDS, next to the boundaries,” &c. These CONDUCTA LOCA, OR GROUNDS MUTUALLY APPOINTED AND AGREED ON near the boundaries, were surely those of the future province of Valentia : and this passage strongly confirms the idea that the bounding wall was not regarded as the utmost limit of Roman power, but that there was a warlike frontier-territory beyond it ; which, in times of peace, was possessed by the Romans, and defended by them in times of war. For they were not such cowards as to act on the defensive alone ; and from behind their wall. The wall was as that of a city ; and a large territory lay beyond it. In this passage of Ammianus, the very first mention of the Scots appears ; and it is immediate, and present ; not retrospective, as that of the Piks by Eumenius. From Eumenius we learn that the Piks existed in the time of Julius Cæsar : from Ammianus, that the Scots existed four hundred and ten years after, or in the year 360. It is most remarkable, that Eumenius never mentions the Scots, but by the general name of *Hiberni* ; and he joins these *Hiberni* with the Piks, as Ammianus does the *Scotti*. These *Scotti* of Ammianus were infallibly, as shall be shewn, the people of Ireland. They sailed from Ireland to Argyle, and the neighbouring shores of Pikland ; where it was necessary they should join their allies, that they might act in conjunction : for

it is remarkable, that we never find them attacking the Britons in Wales, or indeed at all, save in conjunction with the Piks; while the Caledonians or Piks were always making incursions alone. But of the Scots fully hereafter.

Under the year 364, Ammianus has *Picti, Saxon-
esque, et Scotti, et Attacotti, Britannos ærumnis vex-
avere continuis*. “The Piks, and Saxons, and Scots,
and Attacotts, vexed the Britons with continual ha-
rassments.”

Under the year 368, he says, *Et quoniam, cum
Constantis Principis actus componerem, motus adole-
scentis et senescentis oceani, situmque Britannia, pro
captu virium explanavi; ad ea, quæ digesta sunt semel,
revolvi superfluum duxi. Illud tamen sufficiet dici, quod
eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicaledonas et
Vecturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum
natio, et Scotti per diversa vagantes, multa populaban-
tur*. “And since, when I composed the acts of
Constans, I explained as well as I could the motions
of the flowing and ebbing ocean, and the situation of
Britain, I have held it superfluous to revolve mat-
ters already digested. Let this suffice to be said,
that at this time the Piks, divided into two nations,
the Dicaledonæ and Vecturiones, as also the Attacotts,
a warlike nation, and the Scots, wandering diverse
ways, ravaged many parts.” Constans was made
Cæsar in 334; and three years after came to the
empire, and reigned thirteen years, or to 350. He
made a voyage to Britain in winter from Bononia, or
Boulogne; and there is a coin on the occasion, of
small brass, representing Constans in a ship, with the
legend BONONIA.* The loss of that part of Ammianus
is irreparable; as his testimony would have put the his-
tory of Scotland, at the first revival of literature, upon

* Vaillant, Banduri, &c.

quite another footing, by shewing at once what we are now obliged to glean from many minute lights, that *Scotti* was but a new name for the *Hiberni* or Irish Goths, now beginning, like the Caledonians, to be known by the name they gave themselves; and that *Attacotti*, or Hither Scots, was but a name given the Dalreudini, or first colony of Scots that settled in Argyle, about the year 258, as shall be after shewn.

This passage of Ammianus is of itself a sufficient proof that the Caledonians and Piks were one and the same people. For the *Oceanus Deucaledonius*, or that bordering on the *Dicaledonæ*, is put by Ptolemy on the north of Scotland, where the Orkneys lay in it. The Vecturiones are by Richard placed in Fife, Angus, &c. on the east of Scotland, beyond the Firths, but south of the Grampians. The divisions of Ammianus are thus the same with those of Beda,¹ who mentions the Southern Piks below the Grampians, (*Vecturiones*;) and the Northern Piks above them, (*Dicaledonæ*.) The former name of Vecturiones was in fact the proper and real name which the Piks gave themselves, the *Pehtar* or *Pechtar* of the Saxon Chronicle, the *Vikveriar* or *Vichtveriar* of the Icelandic writers softened and latinized. As these lived close to the frontier, and had, in peace, frequent intercourse with the Provincials, the name they gave themselves was of course known, and used; while the Northern Piks living at a distance, the old name of *Caledonæ* and *Dicaledonæ* was as naturally retained for them. Yet it was known that they were all Piks, all one people, though divided by a chain of moun-

¹ III. 4. Provinciis Septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est eis qui, arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis, ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestrati. Namque ipsi Australes Picti, qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes, &c. *Intra* here means *on this side* in opposition to *extra*, *beyond*.

tains. Mr Macpherson derives the name *Deu Caledones* from their northern position, and I am happy for once to agree with him. Mr Whitaker objects that they were on the west, not the north; because Ptolemy's map places the Deucaledonian Sea on the west: but this is a mistake, as, though Ptolemy's Caledonia runs in a wrong direction, it by no means follows that his position of the Deucaledonian Ocean is wrong; for, in it the Orkneys, and Thule, are rightly placed by him to the north of Scotland; and it is humbly presumed that Mr Whitaker did not imagine that the Orkneys were on the west of Scotland, while Ptolemy rightly marks them, and the Deucaledonian Ocean, to the north. And that the Deucaledonian Ocean was to the north of Scotland, is clear from Ptolemy, who says it is another name for the Sarmatic or Baltic;¹ which reached, as the ancients thought, from the Sarmatæ or Russians on the east, to the Caledones on the west. The name of the ocean on the west of Scotland was the Irish Sea, the *Οκεανὸς Ιουερνικός* of Ptolemy, in which were *Μοναιδα* or Maun, *Μαλεας* or Mull, the *Ebudæ* or *Hebudes*, &c. To the south of which was the *Οκεανὸς Ουιεργίουιος*, *Oceanus Vergivius*, now St George's Channel. Did Mr Whitaker seriously imagine there was no name for the sea north of Britain, while that to the west had, by his account, three names for three different parts? The sea on the east is in Ptolemy the *Οκεανὸς Γερμανικός*, or German Ocean.

I need not insist on a matter so clear, and known to all, as that the Caledonians and Piks were the same;

¹ Ἀπο ἀρχῶν δὲ τῷ συνημερμένῳ ὠκεανῷ, τῷ περιέχοντι μὲν τὰς Βρεττανικὰς νήσους, καὶ τὰ βορειοτάτα τῆς Εὐρώπης, καλεσμένῳ δὲ Δουηκαλυδονίῳ τε καὶ Σαρματικῷ. Lib. VII. c. 5. (A summary Description of the World.) "On the north joining to it the ocean, which embraces the British isles and most northern parts of Europe, and which is called Deucaledonius, and also Sarmaticus."

but shall only further add the authority of Beda, who marks the settlement of the Piks in the north of Britain as aboriginal. For he says that, *cum plurimam insulæ partem incipientes ab austro possedissent* [Britones] *contigit gentem Pictorum de Scythia, ut perhibent, longis navibus non multis oceanum ingressam, &c.* I. 1. "When the Britons, beginning at the south, had possessed the greatest part of the island, it happened that the nation of the Piks from Scythia, entering the ocean in a few large ships, as is reported," &c. The Britons of Beda were the Welsh, whom he regarded as indigenes, knowing nothing of the Gael who preceded them. But that these Welsh or Cumraig Britons possessed all Britain for centuries before Julius, is unknown to none. Beda proceeds, *Itaque petentes Britanniam Picti habitare per septentrionales insulæ partes cæperunt : nam austrina Britones occupaverunt.* Ib. "Therefore the Piks going to Britain, began to inhabit the northern parts of the island ; for the Britons had seized the southern." These northern parts of Beda were all north of Clyde and Forth, as is clear from ch. 12. of this book of his History, and other places, where he describes the Piks as coming from the north, and explains that he means the north of the firths of Clyde and Forth, which were indeed, in the time that the wall of Antoninus was first abandoned, as above shewn, the natural bounds between the territories of the Caledonians and the Southern Britons. It is unnecessary to dwell longer on a subject so universally known and allowed, as the identity of the Caledonians and Piks, and which indeed no one can deny who does not prefer his own dreams to ancient authorities, which form the only standard of history.

CHAPTER II.

The Opinion of Camden and Lloyd, and that of the two Macphersons, concerning the Origin of the Piks, examined.

BEFORE shewing the real origin of the Piks, it becomes necessary to discuss two erroneous opinions, which have been formed concerning it. It is granted by all, and is indeed beyond a doubt, that the Piks must either have proceeded from Scandinavia, Germany, or the south of Britain; and that they must have been either Goths or Celts. If Goths, they spoke the Gothic tongue, the parent of the present German, Danish, English, &c. If Celts, their speech was either Cumraig, that of the German Celts; or Gaelic, that of the Gaulic Celts.

That they were Goths, shall be shewn in the next chapter, from the consent of all the ancient writers, and from other arguments. That they were Celts, is the opinion now to be confuted. The authors who assert the Piks to have been Celts are divided in their sentiments.

I. Camden, a topographer entitled to the highest praise, and whose works display no inconsiderable learning and judgment, ventures, in his *Britannia*, to assert, for the first time, in opposition to all preceding authors, that the Piks were Welsh. For this idea he seems to have been indebted to some Welshman, whom he consulted¹ concerning etymology, and

¹ This appears from Camden's MSS. in the British Museum.

other points belonging to the ancient British language, in which he was himself totally unacquainted, and was at the same time unfortunately an equal stranger to the Gothic tongue, a knowledge of which would have saved him from many lapses. It is possible that this Welsh interpreter consulted by Camden may have been Humphrey Lluyd, so noted for his *Commentariolum*, in which he displays an intemperate zeal for the fabulous honour of his country, making Brennus, and other illustrious names, Welshmen of Wales. The warlike reputation of the Piks might well excite a similar fabling disposition to convert them into genuine Cambro-Britons; and the neglect shewn by Hector Boyce, and other Scottish writers, to these the ancient inhabitants of their country, and their own progenitors, might encourage this attempt. Camden himself evidently shews a ridiculous respect, and awe, when he discusses the story of Brutus, and others the most notorious fictions of Cambrian, or rather of Armorican, romance; and the antiquarian page, from Leland's time to his own, sufficiently evinces that the reigns of the Tudors had an effect in inducing the English writers to a reverence for Welsh fables. In no instance has Camden fallen into such rashness of opposition to all preceding testimonies as on this subject; and he may safely be considered as having been misled by his Cambrian counsellor, his chief argument, as will presently be seen, resting on a knowledge of the Welsh language.

It is no wonder that Mr Lloyd should, in his valuable *Archæologia*,¹ support an opinion which reflected ancient honour on his countrymen, though it had been abundantly confuted by Usher and Stillingfleet. But that Innes should stain his work with so radical an error, is somewhat surprising.

¹ Preface.

II. The two Macphersons, Dr John and Mr James, misled by similar ideas, have with great resolution attacked, and *confuted*, all the ancients. Tacitus, and Ammianus, and Beda knew nothing of modern Erse, and fall the victims of this visionary dagger. In the *opinion* of these two formidable champions, the Piks were merely a branch of the Gaelic race, and only differed from the Highlanders in local situation. Mr O'Connor, in his Dissertations, has justly observed that the *second-sight* was necessary for this surprising discovery, which is indeed beneath serious confutation. The gross ignorance of the two Macphersons is supported by its usual adjuncts, superciliousness and petulance : and science would kindle with indignation, if it did not smile in contempt, when it beholds such men aspiring to dictate their visions to the literary world. The sequel of this work will, though unintentionally, sufficiently confute their assertions : and the radical difference between the Caledonians or Piks, who were Goths, and the Highlanders, who were Celts from Ireland, will be clearly evinced.

The opinion of Camden, and of Innes, calls for quite other treatment. Respectable and modest writers are entitled to be answered with respect and with modesty ; while those, whose superciliousness and impudence can only be matched by their superficiality and ignorance, deserve not that regard which they never shew to others. The reasons, if they may be so called, for the opinion that the Piks were Welsh, are, 1. That Tacitus, Herodian, and Dio, call them Britons. 2. That they were painted as the other Britons. 3. That the names of mountains and rivers on the east of Scotland, where the Piks dwelled, are often Welsh. Of all these in order.

I. That the Piks are called Britons by Tacitus, Herodian, and Dio, is no more to be wondered at, than that the English are now called British, or that

the English in America are called Americans; though the English, it is humbly presumed, be neither Welsh, nor American tribes. In the beginning of the last chapter this was spoken of; and this argument is so weak, that it is unnecessary to take up the reader's time with it. How came the Belgæ of the south to lose their name in that of Britons, though they were infallibly Germans, speaking the Gothic tongue, and no more Welsh than the English are? Was it not because that if a hundred nations, of a hundred different origins, had been settled in Britain, they would all have been with the strictest propriety called Britons? Let me here answer an *argument* of Mr Lloyd's of equal ponderosity; heavy indeed as lead, and which may however be melted with the slightest fire. He says, "that the Piks were Britons without question, appears by the name of them in Latin and Irish." I know not whether this *reason* be Latin or Irish. The Latin name is *Picti*, from the name they gave themselves, *Pihtar*, as the Saxon Chronicle shews. The Irish is *Cruithneich*, which, as some Celtic etymologists say, means *painted*, others say it means *wheat-eaters*; and it appears to me to be a mere patronymic, as common with the Celts, from *Cruthen*, the first king or leader of the Piks. Thus *Dalreudini* were from *Reuda*, &c. Mr Lloyd tells us, that the old British manuscripts call the Piks *Fitchid Guydhelians*. And the Guydhelians, he says, were the Gaelic aborigenes of Britain, who were driven into Ireland by the Welsh. I suspect from this that the word Guydhelians was used for any aboriginal, or most ancient inhabitants. But this seems to be one of the mistakes, which those learned in Welsh say are not unfrequent in Lloyd, who is thought to have known Irish better than the antiquities of his own country; for his countryman, Humphry Lluyd, says, the Welsh Annals call the Piks "*Phichjaid, id est,*

Phichtianos.” And Sir John Price, in his Description of Wales, says, that in the sixth century “*Y Gwydhyl Phictiaid*,” which is to say, the “*Irish Picts* did over-run the Isle of Man.” Now that many Piks were settled in Ireland, is certain from Adomnan, in his Life of St Columba, Probus, the old author of the Life of St Patrick, the Annals of Tighernac and Ulster, and other pieces of Irish antiquity : and Lloyd seems to have mistaken the *Gwydhyl Phictiaid*, or *Irish Piks*, for the real original Piks. Lloyd’s argument is self-contradictory. He describes the Guydhelians as a race preceding the Welsh, and their speech as more ancient than the Welsh ; yet he says the Piks were certainly Welsh, because they are called *Guydhyl Phictiaid*, or Guydhelian Piks, in old Welsh MSS. that is, the Piks were Welsh, because—they were not Welsh. If Lloyd had any meaning at all in these strange arguments, it was, that the Piks were Britons, because their name, as he dreamed, implied, both in Latin and Irish, that they painted themselves, as the other Britons did : and this leads to the second argument.

II. That the Piks were Welsh Britons, because they painted as the Britons did. This argument is also self-contradictory, for there is not the smallest authority to believe that the Welsh Britons, or any Celtic people, ever painted themselves at all. It was a custom common among the Gothic nations, to make themselves look terrible in war, and was with them a mark of nobility ; so that, as the ancients say, the most noble had the greatest number of figures stained on his body.¹ Cæsar found nothing of this in Gaul, among the Celts proper ; but when he passed into Britain, he found such Britons as he saw

¹ Herodot. V. 6. Excerpta Diod. Sic. Valesii, p. 357. Dio Chrysost. Orat. xiv. Mela, II. 1. III. 6. Ammian. Marcell. xxxi. 3. Isidor. Orig. xix. 23.

at all, that is, the Belgæ, a Gothic people, painted ; and he of course ascribes this custom to the Britons in general. That any Celtic people ever used this custom, no authority can be produced. That it was common to the Goths, the following instances will shew.

We learn from Pliny that this custom was that of the whole Dacians, and Sarmatæ.¹ Under the name of Dacians, Pliny expressly says he also includes the Getæ.² Vast names, and which spread over a territory of three thousand miles in circumference ! The Sarmatians, or Russians, are out of the question ; save that they shew the universality of the practice in the east, whence the Goths came.

Herodotus,³ describing the manners of the Thracians, whom he calls the most numerous people in the world, save the Indians alone, tells us that they all marked their bodies with these stains, and that it was permitted to no slave, being a badge of freedom. Nay, nobles and chiefs were distinguished by the nature and number of these marks, as now among the American savages.

Valerius Flaccus, speaking of the men of Lemnos, who married Thracian slaves, says,

Picta manus ustaque placet sed barbara mento.

Argonaut. II. 150.

Phanocles Lesbios, and Plutarch,⁴ say the Thracians marked their women so, for tearing Orpheus in pieces ; a fabulous origin of a real custom.

From Dacia, and Getia, it has been shewn in a special Dissertation, to be found at the end of this

¹ XXII. 1. *Maresque etiam apud Dacos et Sarmatas corpora sua inscribunt.*

² IV. 12. *Getæ, Daci Romanis dicti.*

³ V. 6.

⁴ Phanocles apud Stob. Serm. 185. *Plutarch de sera numinis vindicta.*

work, that all the German and Scandinavian nations proceeded. But the custom of staining their bodies was not retained by all, because it was done with a particular herb, which could not be procured in all countries. This herb was the *glastum*, or woad, which stains blue. However, many nations of Germany and Scandinavia still held this custom. Of these, the Geloni and Agathyrsi are the most famous in antiquity. Herodotus¹ says, that Gelonum was a large town of the Budini, walled with wood; that the people of it were originally Greeks, and used a speech partly Scythic and partly Greek; that the Budini were also called Geloni by the Greeks; but that the Geloni were agricultors, the Budini only pastors. He also mentions that the Budini had red hair and blue eyes, and were a great nation. The red hair and blue eyes were the two grand features of the Scythians, or Goths; of whom descended the Germans and Scandinavians, so noted for those features in ancient and modern authors. Mela,² apparently from Herodotus, says the Budini lived in large deserts, while the Geloni had a wooden town. The name of Budini is not, it is believed, mentioned by other writers; and that of Geloni seems to have swallowed it up, as Herodotus says it had in his time among the Greeks. By the Geloni we must therefore understand not the mixed Greeks of Gelonum, but the wide nation of the Budini, where it lay. These Geloni are, by Pliny and Solinus, placed beyond the fountains of Borystenes, or Nieper, and next beyond them were the Agathyrsi, whom Ptolemy and others place on the east shore of the Baltic, in present Esthonia. Mela specially remarks, that among the Agathyrsi these marked stains were signs of nobility, as the persons were more or less distin-

¹ IV. 108.² I. 19.

guished by them.¹ Agathyrsi is apparently a Greek name, from the thyrsus of Bacchus, whose mysteries they delighted in; as the Thyrsagetæ, another Gothic nation, haply received their name from the same cause. For all the Scythians, or Goths, were in their first seats great celebrators of Bacchus; who, by all appearance, was a monarch of the primitive Scythic empire in Asia, and a great conqueror, who made a famous expedition into India, and from thence introduced the vine into his dominions. Hence his orgies were celebrated by the Scythians, or Goths, in climates where the vine was unknown; and the wine of barley, as they called it, or ale, supplied its place. The Thracian bacchanals are most celebrated, and from them passed to Greece; though Thrace was cold, and no vines grew there. The real name of the Agathyrsi is unknown; but that they were Scythians, Goths, Germans, is apparent from all accounts. Stillingfleet² plausibly thinks them the very people afterward called Piks; and that they were a branch of the Peukini, or Basternæ, (whom I infer to be the Peohtar, or Piks) seems probable, because the Peukini and Sitones are the only Scythians, Goths, Germans, who can be traced up to the south-east shores of the Baltic, and into Scandinavia, as shewn at length in the Dissertation annexed to this work.

The *Arüi*, a nation in the very heart of Germany, are also specially mentioned by Tacitus³ to have used this practice of staining their bodies.

But it may be said that this practice does not appear to have been general among the Germans, else Tacitus would have remarked it; and that though

¹ Agathyrsi ora artusque pingunt: ut quisque majoribus præstat ita magis vel minus: cæterum iisdem omnes notis, et sic ut ablui nequeunt. II. 1.

² Origines Sacræ.

³ In Germania.

the Scandinavians may have used this practice, without its ever coming to the knowledge of the Romans, who knew next to nothing of Scandinavia, yet it is not to be conceived that, had the Southern Germans and continental Belgæ used a practice so uncommon, and new to the Romans, it could have escaped the special notice of Cæsar, who warred with them, and of Tacitus, who resided among them as Procurator, or Lieutenant-Governor of Belgium. How then came it to be used among the Belgæ of Britain, and not among the Belgæ of Gaul?

To this be it answered, that the practice was an ancient one, wearing out gradually. The first German nations we find mentioned in history, the Agathyrsi and Geloni, used this custom; and it is reasonable to think it was then practised by many other German nations, as we find it in the time of Tacitus retained by the Arii. The *glastum*, or woad, was not every where to be found; and it would seem that, even in Pliny's time, the British Belgæ had it from Celtic Gaul, where no use was made of it.* If in the heart of Germany we find the Arii, not a distinct people, but only a tribe of the Lugiones, retaining this custom, though the other tribes of the Lugiones had it not, is there any wonder that a part of the Belgæ should keep it after the others had dropt the practice? Surely the former case is stronger than the latter; for the Arii were not divided from their brethren, save by imaginary bounds; while the British Belgæ were separated by the sea, and in a world apart. It must also be remarked, that in islands, as containing remote, distinct, and separate societies, all old customs, traditions, &c. are retained much

* Simile plantagini glastum in Gallia vocatur, quo Britannorum conjuges, nurusque, toto corpore oblitæ, quibusdam in sacris, et nudæ, incedunt, Æthiopum colorem imitantes. XXII. 1.

later than in the vague and mixt continent. Thus in Scandinavia, which is so nearly an isle that it may be called one, the old Scythian, or Gothic manners, traditions, &c. were retained many centuries longer than in Germany; and in Iceland, though very lately peopled, still many centuries longer than in Scandinavia, so that all Eddas, Sagas, &c. are of Iceland. Britain was even by Cæsar, in the then improved state of Roman navigation, regarded as another world. No wonder then that its inhabitants retained many customs for centuries after they had been dropt by their brethren of the continent. The Belgæ of Britain were, as all allow, settled here three or four centuries before Cæsar, when the custom of staining their bodies was, in all likelihood, retained by many of the German nations, and by them in particular. Hence it is not surely matter of hesitation that the British Belgæ should still stain their bodies; while their ancestors of the opposite shore had abandoned the practice, and conformed to the more advanced state of society, which the Greeks of Marseilles had by degrees introduced into Gaul. And when we know from Tacitus that the Arii, a part of the Lugiones, used this custom, while the other Lugiones did not, all hesitation must surely vanish.

That the Celts ever stained their bodies, there is not one authority, if I mistake not, that can shew. Had the Cimbri, Cumri, Cimmerii, or German Celts, who once possessed from the Euxine to the British Sea, used this mode, so remarkable a circumstance could never have escaped the old Greek authors, who mention the Cimmerii, nor the Roman authors, who so particularly describe the persons of these Cimbri who fought with Marius. That the Gaulish Celts did not use it, is plain from Cæsar, who, though he delineates the most minute matters concerning them, says nothing of this; but mentions it as a novelty,

when he comes among the Belgic Britons. But were we to grant for one moment, that the Cumraig Britons had this custom, it is palpable they must have received it from their Gothic neighbours and inmates, the Piks on the north, or the Belgæ on the south. Or to close all argument on the point, let us grant, though erroneously, that the Welsh Britons exclusively had this practice at first, what would the use of it among the Piks prove, but that, as a fashion, it had passed to them from their southern neighbours? Are we of Britain all French, because we dress ourselves after the French, and not after the Spanish fashion? Thus the argument is, in every view, not only futile, but puerile. Let us now pass to an argument of real weight, and the only one such that can be offered on the subject.

III. That the Piks were Welsh, because the names of rivers and mountains, in those parts of Scotland where they dwelled, are often Welsh. To him who has read the first part of this work, this argument must fall of itself. For he will there see that the Cumbri actually possessed Scotland for centuries before the Piks came in. Rivers and mountains are perpetual, and their names cannot be easily changed; while towns, and other works of man, are perishable, and their names are often altered. Hence in Greece and Asia many rivers and mountains retain, to this day, the names by which they were known to Homer, 900 years before Christ, and perhaps actually bore 900 years before Homer. Yet these parts have passed through many scenes of barbarism, and utter desolation; while in Scotland there has been but one change of inhabitants on the east, when the Piks drove out the Cumri; and but four on the west, when the Piks succeeded the Cumri, and then gave up that part to the Dalriads, which was afterwards subdued and held by the Norwegians, though not exclusive

of the Dalriads, the most numerous inhabitants. But it is the east and south parts which here require our notice : and that in the former names of rivers and mountains should sometimes be still Cumraig, is surely no matter of wonder, when the Piks expelled the Cumri only about two centuries before Christ. Had this event happened two thousand years before Christ, these names would have nothing surprising.

But as the subject of names of places in Scotland has been seldom touched, a few remarks shall here be offered upon it. And first some hints shall be premised concerning what is called the Celtic language.

In the Gothic language we have a monument of the fourth century, namely the gospels, and other fragments of the scripture, as translated by Ulphilas, bishop of those Goths who passed the Danube, and settled in Mæsia. The work which Ovid tells us he wrote in this language has unhappily perished ; but it must have been a fixt and exact speech before Ovid's time, else he could not have written in it. Accordingly we find it, in the gospels of Ulphilas, as perfect and grammatical as the Greek, or Latin ; and with perhaps as few anomalies as these tongues. Of this Gothic the Anglo-Belgic, commonly called Anglo-Saxon, of Cædmon and Alfred in the eight and ninth age ; and the Francic, Theudesque, and Icelandic, of several writers from that period, are mere dialects. The Codes of the Visigoths, Burgundians, &c. from the fifth century, also preserve many words and sentences of the Gothic tongue ; as do Jornandes, and other early writers. So that the Gothic may be regarded as a fixt and written language from the fourth century, to this day that its dialects prevail over Germany, England, Scotland, and the northern kingdoms. In the days of Ulphilas the Goths were quite unmixed with any other people ; as was also the case with the Angli of the heart of Germany, and with the Icelanders.

Very different was the lot of the Celtic tongue. The Goths, pouring in from Asia, almost exterminated the Celts, or ancient tribes of Europe, by the ferocious mode of carrying on war, so usual in the earliest times. In Germany but a few Cimbri, or Celts, were left about a hundred years before Christ; and of these few the greater part fell by the sword of Marius; the small remnant, confined to a little point on the sea, as Tacitus describes, was either cut off by the Germans, or quite lost as a drop in the ocean. In Gaul, as more distant from the Gothic progress, the Celts retained their possessions longer. Cæsar found a third part of Gaul still held by the Celtæ; that is, chiefly; for the boundaries of Celtic Gaul, the Seine and Rhone, as marked by Cæsar, were geographic and arbitrary: and we find, among his Celtæ, nations certainly Germanic, as the Senones, or Semnones, the Boii, &c. However, even excluding these nations, one third of Gaul was possessed by the Celts in Cæsar's time: but these Celts, in a century or two, totally exchanged their speech for the Latin; and Strabo vouches, that even in his time the Latin was spoken generally in both Gaul and Spain. Nor does a scrap of the Celtic exist preceding the tenth century, when by mixture it had become partly Latin, partly Gothic. The ancient Gaulish, or Celtic, is therefore universally marked by the learned as a lost language.

In Wales, indeed, and in Ireland, the form, and grammar, and doubtless many words of the two grand Celtic dialects, the Cimbric or Cumraig, and the Gaulish, or Gaelic, have been preserved. But unfortunately the Welsh were subject to the Romans, and incorporated with them, for four centuries; nay, for centuries before the Romans arrived, they had been surrounded by Gothic nations, the Piks and Belgæ. The Saxons also and Danes altered the

Welsh vocabulary by an influx of Gothic words; and when the language first appears in writing in the laws of Howel Dha, of the tenth age, and other genuine works, the grammar is indeed Cumraig, but the body of the language is as much Gothic, and low Latin, as Celtic. The reader must attend that it is a singular quality of the Celtic tongue, to corrupt and debase others to its own vague form, and especially by altering the beginning of words; so that it becomes as difficult to recognize them, as to know a person in a mask. A modern English word, or name, when clothed in the Celtic habit, becomes as singular and old-like as a real Celtic word of two thousand years standing.

In Ireland, where, as Leibnitz observes, the Celtic must be found if any where, an equal, if not greater, mixture took place than in Wales. The old Irish grammarians, as Mr O'Connor remarks, call the Irish tongue *Berla Tabide*, or a mixt speech; and with great propriety, for Cumri, or Welsh, and Belgians and Piks from Britain, had all their share in the Irish tongue, even about the birth of Christ. Afterward the Danes settling in Ireland, ruled it for centuries; and there is no fragment of Irish extant, which can be placed prior to the Danish settlement. Nevertheless, the Gauls, or Celts, who first peopled that noble island, still remaining the most numerous, the grammar and structure of the speech are infallibly Celtic; and it is as difficult to recognize the foreign words in Irish as in Welsh, or more so. A learned Hungarian has observed, on the language of his own country, that though the grammar and structure resemble the Hunnish, or Turkish, yet the words are very different, being generally either German or Slavonic.* This

* Kol in notis ad Olahi Hungariam, Vindob. 1763, 8vo. p. 91. note.

will ever be the case in an ancient, but mixt language, for the form, grammar, or structure of a speech, is radical and fundamental : the words are in constant fluctuation. Nay, the modern Greeks are an unmixed people ; and though the grammar be the same, how different is ancient Greek from modern ! In like manner the Irish and Welsh retain the Celtic grammar ; but their speech, even in its earliest remains, is no more Celtic than the Hungarian is Turkish.

It has been asserted, that the Gaelic of the Highlands of Scotland is the purest dialect of the Celtic. This opinion was unhappily advanced by people who tell us that poems, yet repeated in the Highlands, were repeated there in the same words in the third century. *Au miracle ! Au miracle !* Immortal languages of Greece and Rome, what are your glories to these ! All the eternal monuments of your authors could not fix the spoken language half so long, as that of these people has stood upon its own bottom.* Certain it is, that in Wales and Ireland even the most learned find it difficult to interpret manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth age ; and, were a poem of that period to be put into the hands of any of our Highland translators, he would stamp, and stare, and give up the pursuit. Over all the globe, it seems, language, mixt or unmixt, has changed with time, save in this favoured spot, where eternity has built a nest for her own phoenix. Among the mountains of Switzerland and Biscay, the language is quite changed and corrupted ; but among the mountains of Scotland the mutability of human affairs has no power. But this Gaelic of the Highlands is doubt-

* Diodor. Sic. V. p. 354, marks the credulity of the Celts.

Et tumidus Galla credulitate fruar,

Says a Roman poet ; and another has,

Vaniloquum Celtæ genus.

less more corrupt than either Welsh or Irish. For the Attacots, or Dalreudini, who first settled in Argyle about 258, were a small colony from the north of Ireland, where both the Tuath de Danan, or Cumri, and the Cruitnich, or Piks, had established themselves: nay, were themselves [mostly Scots, or Goths of Ireland, though in that country, being lost among the numbers of Celts who had fled there as to the last refuge, they had adopted the Celtic tongue, but doubtless retained much of the language of their ancestors, the Gothic. The Attacots were driven back to Ireland in the fifth century. In 503, they returned with reinforcements, under Loarn and Fergus, and remained fixt. On all hands, save the west, where the sea was their boundary, they were surrounded by Piks and Welsh: the former were their allies, and no doubt many Piks remained among the new settlers, and many intermarriages took place. The Welsh of Alclyde, or Strat-Clyde, appear also to have had much intercourse with the Attacots, Dalriads, or Highlanders. Above all, in the ninth century, the Hebudes were seized by the Norwegians, who held them for about four hundred years. Not a fragment of the Gaelic has been found in Scotland older than the fourteenth age; and it is perfectly known that the present Gaelic of the Highlands of Scotland is quite full of Norwegian words. Hence this speech must be much more corrupt than any other Celtic dialect; inasmuch as its written monuments are five centuries more modern; and, before the writing began, a grand revolution and total intermixture had long existed. For in these islands of Hebudes, the Celtic tongue had a better chance than in the Highlands of Scotland, where constant intercourse with the Piks, or Lowlanders, on one side, and the Norwegians on the other, must have totally changed it. In short, those

skilled in the Celtic of Ireland pronounce that of the Highlands of Scotland a corrupt dialect, even of the Irish Celtic, which is itself totally corrupt. In the whole Highlands, and western isles of Scotland, are numerous descendants of the Picts and Norwegians;* and the Irish speech and manners spread over parts uninhabited by Irish, so that, as shall after be shewn, the inhabitants of these countries are as mixt as their speech. The Celts being a rude people, and regarded as such by all writers of all ages, their tongue was simple and poor, whence they were always borrowing of others; while hardly in modern European language can one word derived from the Celtic be found. Our Celtic seers of etymology, ignorant of all these facts, derive modern words from the Celtic, without suspecting the real truth, that the Celtic words are derived from them. Without knowledge of the Gothic, and its dialects, no man ought to meddle with Celtic etymology, else he will commit gross errors. For want of this knowledge, Mr Whitaker has derived near 3000 English words from the Welsh, which had in fact past from the Belgic, Saxon, and Danish, into the Welsh; and most of them may be found in the Gothic, Theudesque, and Icelandic, to which they could never pass from the Welsh. The Goths were the conquering people, and superior in all respects to the Celts; and so numerous that they spread over all Europe, and great part of Asia, many centuries before Christ, while the Celts were pent up in two or three little corners.

Celtic etymology is indeed the peculiar frenzy of this superficial age. Etymology of names, whether of persons, or places, has been in all ages very un-

* The gentry, as observed by Dr Walker, are of Norwegian extract, and different in stature and complexion from the common people.

certain. In the old time, *Britain* from *Brutus*, *Scandinavia*, a *scandendis navibus*, *Visurgis quod vi surgat*, were thought pretty and apt. Next Hebrew and Phœnician etymologies were introduced by Bochart. Now Celtic is the word; and etymologists are more visionary than ever, for the Latin and Hebrew were fixt and ancient tongues; whereas the Celtic is a vague mixture of many languages, and so soft and indeterminate in orthography, that, as Buchanan observes of the etymology of his time, *ex quolibet quodlibet fit*, you may make what you please of whatever you please. We have seen Arthur's Seat, and other common English names, derived from the Celtic. Indeed you may derive what you please from it; and with as much justice and truth, as Dean Swift ludicrously derives Greek and Latin names from plain English. We dream that these Celtic names just fit the persons, places, &c. but never dream that three thousand others would all fit just as well; and that a cap and bells would fit still better. Among the Saxon names all over England, Greek names over Greece, Latin over Italy, who has explained, or can explain one? In the name of good sense, let us apply this to our Celtic nonsense. Every name that is thought with peculiar fitness to spring from the Celtic, I shall engage to derive with equal fitness from any tongue in the world, with the help of a dictionary. Suppose now for a specimen, we take the Spanish, and apply it to names in the Highlands of Scotland. Take *Sonachan* and *Ardmallie*, names in Argyleshire, which first start to my eye in Mr Pennant's map; is not *Sonada*, a tune, and *chança*, a jest? The first place was one where the bards used to sing and play, anciently *Sonada-chança*, now by an easy contraction *Sonachan*. Is not *Ardmallie* from *Ardid*, a stratagem, and *mal*, ill, a place where a conspiracy against Fingal was

defeated? Read Swift, good Celtic etymologists; read Swift.

Of all etymology whatever, the Celtic is the most uncertain, because the language is hardly a written one, and its orthography, on which etymology depends, is quite various and lax. The old Celtic is totally lost; and to derive old names from the Irish or Welsh Celtic, is as ludicrous as it would be to derive ancient names in Greece or Italy from modern Greek or Italian. Etymology of names, whether of persons or places, is often delusive; for we know not the reason of the name, or whether it had any reason at all. Such etymology is therefore always dubious, but Celtic etymology is mere delusion; for we do not only know nothing of the reason of the name, but we know not even the Celtic tongue.

In these remarks, therefore, on names in Scotland, I have nothing to do with etymology, but merely with the *form* of the name, which marks it Welsh, Irish, or Gothic, as such names occur in Wales, Ireland, or Germany, and the northern kingdoms. Thus Clyde, Douglas, Lanark, are names in Wales as well as in Scotland: *burgh* is common in the Gothic kingdoms, &c. &c. Our observations shall consider the names of, I. Rivers. II. Mountains. III. Towns.

I.—RIVERS.—These retain their names even longer than mountains, for they often run through so vast a territory, that to change the name in one spot were most unnecessary and inconvenient, and through the whole impossible. On the west coast of Scotland there are no rivers beyond the Clyde, but an exuberant number of excellent bays, creeks, and rivulets, swarming with fish, the wealth of the ocean; and which, had the country been peopled by an industrious colony, would, centuries ago, have enriched that shore to a degree surpassing the east-

ern. These bays and creeks, called lochs or lakes, have sometimes names apparently Celtic, as *Linnhe* and *Duich*; but far the greater number retain the Gothic form, either from the Piks, who once held all this track, and even in Columba's time, 565, possessed Hyona or Icolmkill; nay, till the ninth or tenth century, all save Argyleshire; or from the Norwegians, who had the western isles and part of the western coast. Such Gothic names are *Long*, *Strevan*, *Ridan*, *Fyne*, *Awe* (water), *Craignish*, *Melfort*, *Etive*, *Sumart*, *Sheil*, *Moydart*, *Morrer*, *Carran*, *Torredon*, *Gare*, *Broom*, *Calva*, *Heather*, &c. &c. If any Celtic etymologist derives those from the Celtic tongue, any person the least skilled in the Gothic can repay him with Gothic etymologies. The names of the HEBUD ISLES are also Gothic. *Arran*, *Arroe*, an isle in the Baltic; *Aran*, the name of a man in Torfæi Norveg. I. 307. *Bute*, *Bote*, anciently *Bot*, the name of a man, Worm. Ser. Reg. Dan. p. 28. *Botkerke* in Sweden, *Bote*, a town there.¹ *Ila* and *Sura* have the Gothic termination of islands; *a*, island.² So *Colonsa* and *Oransa*. *Mull*, *Moll-sund* in Norway. *Uist* or *Vist*, from Gothic *Visi*, *Vist*, the west, as the most westerly. *Haris* (*haar*, high), the heights; *Lewis*, the lees or low parts: *Herro* is an isle on the coast of Norway. *Staffa*, *Staaf*, also an isle on the Norwegian coast, and another in Sweden; *Staf*, a rock in Norway, Torf. I. 64. *Staf*, a pillar. *Egg*, *Eggiaford* in Norway, *Eg-sund* in Sweden, *Egholm* of Denmark, *Eggi*, a farm in Norway, Torf. I. 64. *Rum*, *Rom*, an isle of Denmark; *Ruim*, the old Belgic name of Thanet.³ *Skia* (corruptly called *Sky*, as *Ar* is called *Air*), *Skuo*, one of the Farroe isles. In short, the names even of the

¹ Bleau's Atlas has been chiefly used, and may be consulted by the reader who wishes to verify the names here given.

² "Ey, insula, Swedis et Danis, oö:eyland, insula."—Wachter.

³ Insula quid dicitur in Saxonica lingua Tenet, Britannico autem sermone Ruim. Asser. Vita Alfredi, p. 7.

smallest isles are all Gothic ; even the two Cumbras at the mouth of Clyde have the Gothic *a* or *oe*, *island*, the islands of the Cumri or Welsh.

It is from the names of rivers on the east and south that the argument springs for the Piks being Welsh. And several of these names are doubtless Cumraig, but prior to the Pikish time. Beginning from the north of the eastern shore, *Devon* seems the first river which perhaps bears a Cumraig name. Next is *Dee*, certainly Welsh, as it is the name of a river in Wales ; and the word in Cumraig means *water*. Then are two of the *Esk*s which abound in the south and east of Scotland, and are also Cumraig ; *Ysk* also meaning *water*, and being the name of some rivers in Wales. Next *Eden*, also a river in Cumberland. *Tiviot*, the Welsh *Tevy*. Another *Dee* in Galloway. The *Clyde*, as in Wales ; where also a town called Lanark stands on the river. These names are all Cumraig ; and precedent to the Pikish times.

On the other hand, many names of rivers in the north, east, and south of Scotland are Gothic.

To begin with the north, the Gothic names here may be from the Norwegians, who held Sutherland and Caithness, along with the Orkneys. The very name of *Sutherland* implies this, as it must have been so termed by a people who lived in the Orkneys, to the south of which it is. The rivers *Durness*, *Naver*, *Armisdale*, *Hallow Dale*, *Forsa*, *Thurso*, *Wick*, *Dunbeath*, *Hemisdale*, *Brora*, *Uynes*, *Caran*, *Conan*, *Beaulie*, are all Gothic. *Ness* is most ancient Gothic ; *Nessus*, a river of Thrace near Abdera, mentioned by Laertius, and Iamblichus in the Life of Pythagoras, and many others. *Nairn*, *Findorn*, *Lossie*, *Spey*, are Gothic ; the last name *Spae* means, I believe, the foam of any violent water. *Uggie*, *Ythan*, seem Gothic ; as does *Don*, the name of the river in England upon which Doncaster stands. The *Tay* is by all appear-

ance Gothic; *Tavus*, *Tau*; *aw*, or *aa*, is water, river, in the northern and German tongues, as *Almund Aa*, *Almund river*; *Uldal Aw*, *Uldal river*; hence *Te-aw*, *The River*, by eminence. *Forth* is perfect Gothic; *Fiorda*, *firth*, the mouth of a river; the *Firth of Forth* is a solecism, meaning the *Firth of a Firth*. The *Tweed* is surely Gothic, for the name superabounds in Denmark and Norway, though it be there generally given to towns, and spelt *Twede*. The pastoral streams that fall into the *Tweed*, *Gala*, *Etteric*, *Yarrow*, are Gothic; the last is also the name of a river in Northumberland, and is from the same root, as *arrow*, implying swift. *Annan*, *Nith*, *Orr*, *Fleet*, *Cree*, seem all Gothic: *Nid*, a town in Iceland, the river *Nid* in the duchy of Triers in Germany; *Ora*, a river in Norway, and another in Sweden, and another in Fifeshire, with the lake *Ora*; *Fleet*, swift. *Stinfar*, *Girvan*, *Dun*, or *Don*, *Air* (say *Ar*) *Irvin*, *Garnock*, are also Gothic.

The word *Loch*, universal for a lake in Scotland, is the same word prevalent among all the Scythic nations, from the beginning to this day: *λακκος*, Greek; *lacus*, Latin; *lake*, English; *lat*, French; *lago*, Italian; *lago*, Spanish. The northern and German nations are fond of the broad *oo*, as the Greeks of *w*, and also of aspirations, whence it is pronounced *loch*; and though this term be very rare in Germany and the north, yet in a curious map of the celebrated Isle of Helgeland, or Holyland, on the coast of Jutland, to be found in Bleau's Atlas, occurs a small lake called *Pyper's loch*. The Irish *Luagh* is something similar, but farther from the sound of *lake* than *loch*, for *gh* is not pronounced. Whether the name be originally Celtic, or Scythic, or both, seems dubious.*

* Wachter gives many meanings of *Loch* in old German, among which are, *apertura*, *hiatus*; *cavitas rotunda*; "an aperture, or opening," which a lake is as to the ground.

II. MOUNTAINS. The Grampian hills are the most celebrated mountains in Scotland : and the name is surely from the northern *Gram*, the name of a town in Norway, but more remarkable as a personal appellation. *Gram* was the third king of Denmark, and a great name in the north, for Torfæus¹ informs us that in the earliest times every independent leader was called *Gram*, and his soldiers *Grams*. Hence the Grampian hills seem to imply *the hills of warriors*. *Mormond*, near Frasersburg, is also Gothic; *mor-mond*, the mount by the sea. *Pentland* hills carry a singular appellation from *Pikland*; as when the Saxons seized Lothian, they called it *Pikland*; and Trumwine the bishop signs himself *Episcopus Pictorum*;² the Piks retaining their possessions under the Saxons. As *Peht*, the Scottish pronunciation of the name *Pik*, feels uneasy and indistinct in the mouth, it was made fixt and clear in *Pent*; so *Pentland* firth, in the north of Scotland, was called by the Norwegians of the Orkneys *Pichtland* firth, and was so spelled and pronounced even in the time of James V. as appears from that prince's *Navigation*.³ *Berwick law*, and the several *laws* in Scotland, are all from the Gothic *lag*, law, for on such separate mounts were courts held. They were sometimes also called *Montes Placiti*, as the Mute hill at Scoon. There is no occasion to dwell long on the names of mountains in Scotland,

¹ Ea tempestate quilibet princeps, qui non alienis bellum gereret auspiciis, Gramus appellabatur, milites vero Grami.—*Hist. Norv.* Tom. I. p. 379.

² Langhorne Chron. Reg. Angl. London, 1679, 8vo. p. 236, quotes a charter in the Cotton Library of Egfrid, king of Northumberland, which bears *Ego Trumwine Pictorum Episcopus subscripsi*. Perhaps this charter was burnt in the fire, 1730, but, if extant, query, if genuine? Beda however, IV. 26, calls Trumwine bishop of the Piks, and places his see at Abercorn.

³ Published at Paris, 1583; and in the *Miscellanea Antiqua*, London, 1710, 8vo.

as, like those of rivers, they are partly Cumraig from the Cumri, partly Gothic from the Piks. Of the former are surely the *Ochel* hills, *ochel* being the Welsh for high. *Tinto* seems also Welsh, as *Tintagel*. The *Rins* in Galloway seem doubtful if Celtic or Gothic: the name implies a *ridge* of mountains, and approaches even to the English word, and to the general idiom, when it is said, that a chain of mountains *runs* through a country. The Gothic *rune* and *runes*, whence the Runic character means *lines*; whence may be the term, as a *line* of mountains, a *row*. But *Rinn*, in Irish, implies a ridge of mountains; and the question remains, whether it past from the Gothic with the Firbolg, or from the Cumraig, with the Tuath de Danan, into Irish? For the Welsh and Irish are such mixt tongues, that no reliance can be placed on them. *Rins* or *Rinds* is also a name for a villa or two in Fife, and other parts of Scotland, where no chain of hills exists: and the same fall of letters may be found perhaps in Otaheite, China, Norway, and Africa.

III. TOWNS. This class is the most important to the question. Towns, among the Scythians and Celts, were mere straggling huts placed near each other, but in no order nor contiguity. As these huts were of wood, no ruins remain. The Celts of Britain and Ireland had, no doubt, such towns, for they are found even among the most savage nations of Lapland, Kamchatka, America, Africa. Cæsar says of the Belgic Britons, that they gave the name of town when they fortified a thick little wood with a ditch and rampart.¹ But this was a town of defence; and they surely had hovels, a convenience not unknown to the most brutish nations. To sleep in the open air, in a British winter, was certainly impossible. And

¹ Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt; quo, incursionis hostium vitandæ causa, convenire consueverunt.—Lib. V.

wherever men are found, huts are found ; so that we may safely conclude, that villages or towns, like those of the Indians, were scattered all over Britain, and Ireland, upon their very first population, perhaps thousands of years before Christ. Ptolemy mentions seven or eight towns in all parts of Ireland in his time ; and these towns certainly were not fortified thickets, but large collections of huts. Indeed the word *oppidum*, used by Cæsar, and whence false ideas concerning the British towns have arisen, means always, in Latin, *a walled town, a fortified town* ; and Cæsar's meaning is, that the Britons called such a wood a *fortified town*. The word *Vicus* is used always by Tacitus for what we call a town, an Indian town, as he describes those of the Germans to be. We must therefore understand Cæsar that the Britons dwelled in *vici*, or large straggling villages ; and that their only *oppida*, or fortified places, were such as he mentions. Tacitus, describing the consequences of the defeat of Galgacus, says, *fumantia tecta*, the roofs all smoking, the villages being burnt by the Piks in their retreat.

Now, as, in America, the old name of the Indian town is often preserved, when an European town is built on or near the situation, we may, with all reason and analogy, apply this universal practice of new settlers, barbarous or civilized, to such names of towns on the east of Scotland as seem Celtic. For the Piks, who drove out the Cumri, must have done it by degrees, and been well acquainted with the names of their states and towns, long before they fell into their hands. But I say as *seem* Celtic, for I am convinced that what we call the Celtic is so full of old Gothic words, that no man of sound sense will take upon him to say, if the term be really old Gothic or Celtic. Nations also borrow terms from each other, when they seem much adapted to the subject. Thus we

talk of a *Savanna*, a Spanish term for a meadow. So in Scotland, *Strathmore* is the name of a river and its dale in Sutherland; and Strathnavern, to a late period, that of a large track on the river Naver, in the same county. *Strath* is not found now in Norway, &c. where *Field* is used in that sense. Yet I know not if it be a term left by the Cumri, as the Welsh have *Ystrat Alyn*, *Ystrat Marchel*, &c. or a Gothic word from *strat*, *via*, whence our *street*, the *way of the river*, or from *stracka*, *extendere*, whence our *stretch*, the stretch or extent of the river. The words *Strath* and *Aber* have been chiefly marked as signs that the Piks were Welsh. Yet the granting these words Welsh would only shew that the Piks retained these terms of the old inhabitants, as the European inhabitants of America do Indian terms. But I suspect both of them to have past from the Gothic to the Celtic; and shall now consider *Aber*.¹

At the end of Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, is a list of parishes in Scotland, which must serve us as an *Index Villaris*, till a work, so much wanted, be given to the public. In this we find the following names:

Aberbrothoc in Angus.

Aberchirder in Bamf.

Abercorn in Lithgow.

Aberdalgie in Perth.

Aberdeen in Aberdeen.

Aberdour in Fife.

Abferfoil in Perth.

Aberlady in Haddington.

Aberlemus in Angus.

Aberlemno in Angus.

Aberlour in Bamf.

Aberluthnit in Kincardine.

Aberneit in Angus.

Abernethy in Perth.

Now we are told that in Welsh *Aber* means the mouth of a river. I know it is in Welsh equivalent

¹ Beda tells us, that a town at the end of the Northern Wall was called Peanvahel, in the Pikish language; "sermone Pictorum Peanvahel." l. 12. This name, say Welsh writers, shews the Piks Welsh, as it implies, in Welsh, "the head of the wall." But Nennius tells us, that the Welsh name was *Pengual*. And there are no such words as *Pe an*, *vahel*, or *fahel*, in the Welsh language, as the reader will

to the French *havre*, a *haven*; and they say a ship enters the *aber*, &c. But, both in Wales and Scotland, it begins the names of towns many miles from the mouths of rivers, and where not a freshet runs in to the stream. Hence Borlase, in his Cornish Vocabulary, says, "*Aber*, a ford; a fall of water; a mouth of a river; a meeting of two rivers." Here are meanings enough, because Borlase found towns beginning with *Aber* in all these situations. The fact is, that poor *Aber*, which has been tortured into so many meanings, is absolute German *Uber*, beyond, and means simply a town *beyond* a river, an idiom of the speech for *upon* it. Though indeed it seems to have been always imposed by the most populous or noted neighbourhood, and applied when the town lay beyond the river as to them. And it is such old Scythic as to be absolute Greek, *υπερ*, *upon*, *above*, *beyond*. So that it appears to me originally, as in Greek, to have meant *upon*, as well as *beyond*; though I am not sufficiently versed in old German to say if it, without an idiom, bears both meanings in that tongue.¹

find on looking into Davies's Dictionary, or Lloyd. *Pen* in Welsh is *the head*; *gwal*, a *wall*. So that the English name *Penweltun*, added by Beda, is more Welsh than the Pikish. In Gothic, *Pæna* is to *extend*; *lhre*: *veal* is *wall*; *Lye*: so that if we infer the term Gothic, *the extent* or *end of the wall*, there is greater reason on our side.

¹ The old German *ober*, meaning *upper*, may also have a share in the Scottish *Abers*. Our old chronicles put *Apur* for *Aber*, *Apurnethige* for *Abernethy*, *Aperfeirt*, &c. Innes, p. 778. So the Icelandic writers say *Apurden*, for *Aberdeen*. Wachter observes that *ober* is *superior*; but *uber*, *over*, *beyond*, *toward*, *behind*. "*Uber* vocula anti-quissima, Hebræis, *eber*; Persis, *avar*; Gothis, *ufar*; Francis, *ubar*; Anglis et Belgis, *over*:" "*Uber*, versus locum, trans locum, supra, retro." *Gloss. Germ.* Pelloutier observes, that the *Uberes*, a German people beyond the Rhine, probably received their name from the German *Uber*, beyond. In old Gaul was *Ebredunum*, and *Eburones*. Grotius in prolegom. ad Hist. Goth. says, "*Ebrimor*, Græcis *Ebrimur*, Jornandi *Eber-mor*, Transmarinus, natus trans mare, quale cognomen regum quidam in Gallia ab educatione habuit. *Ebir* quod nunc *Over*, unde *Ebirmuot*, *Ebirwir*," &c.

It is used for a town *upon* a river; and as we say Newark upon Trent, Newcastle upon Tyne. But in old German the word seems to have been spelt *Aber* and *Eber*; for I find only one town with *Uber* in existence, namely, *Uberling* upon the lake of Constance. Whereas many begin with *Aber* and *Eber*; as *Aberden* in the duchy of Bremen, *Aberburg* in Livonia, *Eberstein* in the Marquisate of Baden, *Eberan*, the German name of a town in Hungary, *Eberfort*, &c. *Aberford*, Yorkshire. Had we a list of the parishes in Germany, as many *Abers* and *Ebers* might perhaps be found there as in Scotland. Sometimes the word is put absolutely, as *Loch Aber*, a district in Inverness-shire, *Haberness* in Denmark, *Aberick*, an isle on the shore of Livonia, *Abor*, a town of Norway on the sea. It may be suspected that *Alver*, which begins the names of several towns in Norway, is but a various orthography of the same word, *Alverstorp*, &c. Perhaps the Goths retained several old Cumraig names both on the continent, and in Britain, not only of rivers and mountains, but of old Celtic towns. But I rather suspect that the Welsh, who are a people mixt with such Belgæ, or British Germans, as preferred the pastoral state to the Saxon yoke, received this, with many other words, from the Gothic. For the Welsh language, as well as the Irish, is so full of Gothic words in disguise, that it is almost impossible to say if any particular word be originally Gothic or Celtic. That the word *Aber* is Gothic, is apparent even from this, that the Welsh do not understand the meaning of it. On the whole, such minute matters are most dark and uncertain; but this much is certain, that the *Abers* in Scotland no more prove the Piks Welsh, than those in Germany prove the Germans Welsh. It must also be considered, in examining this point, that after the Christian times, the foundation of a church was com-

monly that of a town around it ; and that the clergy among the Piks were almost entirely Welsh and Irish, for so little were the Piks addicted to piety, that there is not one Pikish saint or even churchman on record. Now these Welsh and Irish founders gave Welsh and Irish names to their churches, which, of course, passed to the towns. Let me also observe, that the above marked obduracy of the Piks to Christianity is itself a strong sign of their Scandinavian origin, for the people of Scandinavia were so averse to Christianity, that none of them received it till the tenth century. If the Piks were Welsh or Irish, who can account for Pikland being unknown in the Christian records, while all Wales and Ireland were swarming with saints ?

But if the *Abers* could shew the Piks to have been Welsh, then, by the same rule, the *Bals* might prove them Irish ; for names beginning with *Bal* are frequent in Ireland, and also in the Pikish part of Scotland, as *Balbirny*, *Balmuto*, *Balmerino*, *Balcarras*, &c. This is another word which might puzzle the most profound etymologist to determine, if really Celtic or Gothic. Nothing is more certain than that *Bal* and *Bally* are most frequent in Ireland, as initial of the names of towns ; and that *Baille*, in Irish, implies a city, town, or village. In Welsh it means the head of a river flowing from a lake, as Twyne says ; but, according to Price, a town ; Davies doubts this last, except that it be from the Latin, *Villa*, or the Arabic, *Balad*, a town. I cannot help observing, that the Welsh speech is to this day little known, for even Lloyd had no great skill in it ; and that Irish interpreters are much more just and precise in disclosing their language. Nothing is also more certain, than that, in the Icelandic or Gothic, *Bol'* is a town, or

¹ “ *Bol*, caput, *πολος*, Gr. *Bolwerk*, *Bol*, rotundus.” Wachter.
“ *Bal*, vide *Bol*.” *Id.* As the first towns were on the tops of hills,

village ; and that the broad *o* is often used in the north, where *a* is used in Scotland, as in the names of islands which surround Norway, &c. end in *o* or *oe*, while in the Hebudes and Orkneys they end in *a* ; the Scottish language not having the sound of *oe* in it. The names in Norway ending in *boll* and *bull* are quite numerous. But to close this at once, there are even *Bals* enough in the northern kingdoms to shew the word as much Gothic as Celtic ; as in Denmark, *Ballé*, *Balling*, *Balslo*, *Balkaré*, *Balkared*, *Balteberg*, *Langball*, *Nordballe*, *Ballum*, *Suderbballig*, *Wullsball*, *Balligard*, *Braballig* ; in Iceland, *Balhokill*, *Balgar* ; in Sweden, *Balsen* isle, *Balsfiord*, *Balby*, *Balabygd*. So also in the duchy of Bremen, *Balli* ; and in Friesland, *Ballum* ; in Shetland, *Bal*.

Dal seems equivalent to *Bal* ; and as in Scotland we have *Dalswinton*, *Dalserf*, *Dalrymple*, *Dalgus*, &c. so in Norway, Denmark, &c. *Dal* is quite frequent ; as *Dalby*, *Dallerup*, *Dalby-neder*, *Dalby-offre*, *Dal-molle*, *Dalroth*, &c. &c.

The *Invers*, as *Inverleith*, *Inverary*, *Inverness*, seem also Gothic ; as in Denmark are *Iverfleth*, *Iversbull*, and *Immerwath*, &c. Yet I believe in Irish the word means the mouth of a river : but were there ever any Irish in Denmark ? Has not the word past from the Gothic to the Irish ?

In Fifeshire there are many *Pits*, as *Pitferran*, *Pit-medie*, &c. &c. But this name has never been suspected either Welsh or Irish ; and such names are not to be found either in Wales or Ireland ; but are frequent in England, as may be seen in the Index Villaris.

the consonance of *caput* and *rotundus*, with a town, is apparent. The Greek *πολος* and *πολις* are in singular agreement. *Dun* is another German name for a town, and our word is a corruption of it, "*Dun*, civitas, urbs, oppidum." Wachter. "*Dun*, mons, collis." *Id.* "*Dunkel*, occultus, secretus." *Id.*

Let us now produce two specimens of numerous names on the east of Scotland, which are not similar to any, either in Wales or Ireland; and will of themselves turn this point quite the other way. The first is of *Kins*.

Kinkell in Perth.
Kinloch in Perth.
Kinnef in Kincardin.
Kinnethmont in Aberdeen.
Kinloss in Moray.
Kinaird in Forfar.
Kinaird in Perth.
Kinneil in West Lothian.

Kinuel in Forfar.
Kinnellar in Aberdeen.
Kinnettles in Forfar.
Kinnore in Aberdeen.
Kinnoul in Perth.
Kinross in Kinross.
Kintale in Ross.
Kintore in Aberdeen.

Nennius, in ch. 19. speaking of the place at the end of the wall of Antoninus, which, Beda says, was called Peanvahel, by the Piks, says it was in Welsh Pengaul, but *Scotice*, in Scottish, *Cenail* pronounce Kenail. This place is now Kinneil in West Lothian. *Scotice* is infallibly *Irish*: and *Cean*, or *Cen*, pronounce *Kean*, and *Ken*, means the *head*, as Malcom *Ken-mor*, or Great-head: being equivalent to the Welsh *Pen*. An etymologist would say, it follows of course, that all these names in *Kin* are of Irish extract. But how then comes it to pass, that in Ireland there is but one *kin*, namely *Kinsale*; and even that, it is believed, was formerly *Kingsale*, while in England there are about thirty; as Kincot in Leicester—Kinaston, Salop—Kinaston, Stafford—Kinder, Derby—Kinchley, Durham—Kinderton, Cheshire—Kineton, Warwick—Kinlet, Salop—Kinley, Gloucester—Kinley, Hereford—Kinnel, Denbigh—Kinarton, Chester, with Kinton, Kinson, Kinver, &c. &c. to the amount of about sixteen more, as may be seen in the *Index Villaris*? What can be more uncertain than etymology of names? In the northern kingdoms I find no *kins* prefixt; but the word *kein* placed after seems the same, as *Areskein*, &c.

The other list is of *Fors*.

Forbes in Aberdeen.
 Forcastle in Perth.
 Fordyce in Bamf.
 Fordon in Kincardin.
 Forfar in Forfar.
 Forgen in Aberdeen.
 Forgond in Fife.

Forgondenny in Perth.
 Forglen in Bamf.
 Forres in Moray.
 Forteviot in Perth.
 Fortingal in Perth.
 Fortrose in Ross.

Of these Forteviot is very famous from an ancient palace of the kings of Scotland there, and in the old Chronicles Kenneth died at *Fortevioth* in 860; as did many others after. Not a *For* is to be found in Wales, Ireland, nor in the northern kingdoms. In England there are many *Fords*, but no *Fors*; and *For* cannot imply *Ford*. I suspect the word is of the same family with *force*; and that it implies a place of strength. Or perhaps from the old German "*Forst, nemus, saltus, indago.*" Wachter. In which case it implies a town concealed in a grove.

The *Achs* are also very common in Scotland, as *Achterarder, Auchinleck, Acharn, &c.* and are found in the northern kingdoms, *Achterup* in Denmark, &c. They seem the English *Ack*, and *Ac*, which are also quite numerous.

I shall here beg leave to insert a list of names which occurred in turning over Bleau's Atlas, and which are clearly related to names in Scotland.

In Iceland *wick* and *ness* are frequent. In Norway is *Skonland* (Scoon)—*Noard Bugden*—*Skeen*—*Mios wand* (Mouse rivulet, near Lanark)—*Bouwe* (Bowie)—*Hoop* (Hope).—In DENMARK, *Medelby*—*Almund* and *Almand*—(Almond river)—*Haldum*—*Struer* (*Anstruther*)—*Wym* (Weems)—*Oxenwath, Immerwath, Giordwath, Heldswath, &c.* (Carnwath, &c.)—*Kolding* (Coldingham) *Aller*—*Homoe* (Home and Hume)—*Todsleff* and other *leffs* (Lillyslef, &c.)—*Glesmos* (Glasford, &c.)—*Falsbol*—*Lundby*—*Lille*

fulde—*Alstede*—*Fariltosta* (Farintosh)—*Frisel* (old name of Fraser)—*Arnum*, (Arnot)—*Alkier*—*Gamel*, very frequent (real name of *Campbell*; its pretended genealogy is a mere dream of Irish genealogists)—*Logum* (Logan)—*Galstede* (Gala, &c.)—*Osterlineth*—*Assyth* (Assint)—*Ellum* (Elvonfoot)—*Carlum*—*Carlbeke*—*Hoppe*—*Eytum* (Aytoun)—*Methelbur*—*Binning*—*Melderup* (Meldrum, &c.) *Wirrikeir*—*Alloe*—(Alloa)—*Jesterup* (Yester)—*Kulundt*, not far from Alloe, (Callendar)—*Bockholm*—*Foulch*, (Foulis, Ross-shire)—*Lockmart* (Lockhart)—*Avenberk*—*Wedelspang* (Weddel)—*Dallroth* (Rothsay, &c.)—*Alver* (Alves and Alva)—*Birckholm*—*Schwansen* (Swanston).—In SWEDEN, *Carvasen*—*Eske ile*—*Skoen* in Nordland (Scoon)—*Lidh* Lidsdale—*Skonland* in Finmark (Scoon)—*Rindo isle* (Rinds)—*Stora* (Story)—*Dalsarfe* (Dalserf)—*Betom* (Beton and Bethune)—*Melosa* (Melrose)—*Gillberg*, (Gilchrist, &c.)—Besides these are *Wiems* in Finland (Weem and Wemys)—*Falkenau* in Livonia (Falkirk, &c.)—*Ales* in Livonia (Hailes)—*Adzel* in Livonia—*Hutten* in Sleswick (Hutton)—*Rothness* *ibid.*—*Coldenkirke* (Coldenknows, &c.)—*Stobben* in Holsace (Stobo)—*Brodozo* (Brodie)—*Ruttin* (Ruthven).—In the duchy of Stormar on the Elbe, *Alvesloh*, a town near a marsh—*Munkloh*, a town in midst of a marsh.—In Freezland, *Bimerwolde* (Bimerside)—*Wymer* (Weem)—*Logen*.—In Holland, *Lammerschage* (Lammermuir).

In the descriptions of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, &c. printed by Jansen, 1655, I find the rivers *Lida* in Sweden (Leith) and *Uisk* (Usk, or Esk): other Esks, as *Tornetresk*, *Enaratresk* in Lapland, and *Ulatresk* in Cajania: *Essa* in Bremen. Were the Welsh ever in Lapland? *Gester* (Yester) *Lethra* (Leith)—*Nyssa*, a river of Sweden (Ness)—*Oderchwart*, or *Oiertquart*, (Urquhart,) a town in Bremen. *Asloa*, another name for Opslo (Alloa)—*Brevik* (Ber-

wick).—In the Norway of Torfæus, is *Lanaefield*, so that Lan is not always to be regarded as Welsh or Irish for church—*Kilestroom* and *Kiol hill* (Kyle)—The river *Galaæ* (Gala)—The History of Haldan the Black, Hafn. 1658, 4to, says he lost his life in a lake called *Ros* (Ross)—There is a *Tullegarn* in Sweden (*Tullechgorum*)—and a district called *Mora* (Moray)—In Denmark, a *Bruntland* (Burntisland) and *Corstorp* (Corstorphin).¹

To sum up these remarks on the names of places in Scotland, which, though perhaps they may little interest the reader, have cost me great labour, let it be observed, I. That two thirds of the names in the Hebud Isles and Highlands are infallibly Gothic: This is owing to three causes, 1. That the Piks, a Gothic people, possessed these countries down to the sixth century, when a small part was given up to the Irish, who gradually multiplied and seized on the Isles and Highlands, regions despised by the Piks, who crowded into the more fertile parts, the south of Scotland, and north of England. 2. That the Norwegians in the ninth century seized on the Hebud Isles, and parts of the opposite shore, which they held four centuries. 3. That the Highlanders, being a rude people, always engaged in petty commotions, many grants of forfeited lands among them were given to Lowlanders. II. That almost the whole names of the north, east, and south of Scotland are Gothic, owing to the Piks, a Gothic people, possessing these countries; as at times the Norwegians, another Gothic people, held the north; and the Saxons, another Gothic people, the south. But there are, or at least seem, two exceptions to this general rule, 1. That a few are

¹ It is suspected the name *Fife* arises from the plant with a pod resembling cotton, so common on the heaths of that country. Torfæus Orcad. p. 120, says *Fifa*, the name of a ship, is taken from that of the *palustris lanugo*, a plant whose cotton flies before the wind.

Cumraig, owing to the Cumri being the first possessors of all Scotland; and to the churchmen who founded churches, around which towns rose, being often Cumri, and giving the places Cumraig names. 2. That a few are Gaelic, owing to the Irish churchmen, who swarmed in Pikland, from the seminary at Hyona, and from Ireland, down to the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and who denominated their churches, villages, and lands, in their own language; nay, as being the sole literati in Pikland, bestowed names perhaps even on large tracts, which passed into charters, and among the people.

I have with great care looked over the large Atlas of Scotland, by Pont, and find the above remarks universally applicable, and sufficient to account for all the names in Scotland. It is indeed curious to observe that in Aberdeenshire, for instance, the name of one village shall be absolute Gothic with *burgh*, another within a mile with *aber*, and another at same distance *inver*. But the single circumstance of the clergy among the Piks being, down to the eleventh or twelfth century, entirely Welsh and Irish, will sufficiently account for this; if the *abers* and *invers* be indeed Welsh and Irish.

Kils are also common in Scotland; but the word in Gothic signifies a *spring*, or *fountain*, as in Irish it implies a *cell*, or *chapel*, so that nothing can be founded on such names, which are also common in England. *Cars*, as *Carberry*, &c. have seldom if ever any connection with the Welsh *Caer*, a town, as they are frequent over all the globe. In Wales, *Llan* is very frequent, signifying a *church*; and in Scotland it also occurs, though rarely: one instance there is so far north as Moray, where *Lan-bride* surely implies the church of St Bride, or Bridget, and it must have been founded by some Welsh clergyman. For as at first Ninian, Kentigern, and other early teachers of the Piks,

were Welsh ; so in after times the regions of Strat-Clyde and Cumbria proceeded, in conjunction with Columba's seminary at Hyona, to furnish clergy to the Piks ; and not one name of a Pikish saint, or churchman, can be found.

He that would build any argument upon the Welsh names in Scotland, is desired to reflect that the names of places in Scotland may be about twelve thousand ; and of them not above thirty at the most even seem Welsh. On the north, east, and south, not above fifty are Irish ; while on the west about two thousand are Gothic ; and the Gothic names in Scotland amount in all to about ten thousand. As for the Irish interpretations of these Gothic names, which any etymologist is ready to furnish, such as that a plain English name, *Arthur's Seat*, is formed of three or four Erse words, &c. it seems doubtful whether they who advance such nonsense, or they who believe it, have most imbecillity. These Irish etymologies are mere second-sighted delusions. Swift's mock etymologies of *Andromache* from *Andrew Mackie*, &c. are rational in comparison of them. The Celtic is so vague a speech, that from it you may make what you will of any thing. Thus the Irish word pronounced *awe*, for instance, and signifying *law*, is spelt *Adh*, *agh*, *ach*, *ath*, at pleasure. In other tongues a vowel is sometimes changed ; but the consonants, which give a determinate form to the word, remain. What reliance can by any man of sense be placed on the meaning of names, when no one knows from what cause of ten thousand the name was given, or whither from any at all ? What reliance, when a name will, in two centuries, totally alter its form ? What reliance, above all, on etymologies from the Celtic, a speech which alters its consonants, its very essence, at pleasure, and which declines its nouns by changing their beginnings ? These writers commonly catch at some

locality, or descriptive attribute, which fits the spot, and then derive their etymologies accordingly. This gives them a plausible air to the superficial, who never reflect that any spot may have a hundred descriptive attributes all equally fitting. M. Bullet, in his *Mémoires sur la langue Celtique*, has derived the plainest English names from the Celtic, as *Oakland* from *Oc*, a little hill, *lan*, a river, *d* from *dy*, two, &c. &c. Such are Celtic etymons!

Even in Gothic, a fixt speech, a sensible writer will hardly venture to hint at the etymology of a name now and then; for nothing can be more uncertain. *London* means, we are told, a town in a grove, from *Lund*, grove, and *dun*, town: yet the name might with equal plausibility be derived from Sarmatic, Tartaric, Chinese, or Arabic. What do we know about the origin of the name? Who was present when the name was given? Do even the Indians know the meaning of their names of places, though certainly imposed by their ancestors in the same language they still use, though modernized? A few Greek and Roman names of men had, and have, meanings; but produce, if you can, two names of places in Greece, or Italy, of which the meaning is known. What is the meaning of Rome? What of Athens? What of Lacedæmon? What of Corinth? Look into the best Lexicons, are you not told that such are proper names, and admit of no explanation? Ask an Indian savage the meaning of the name of his town, he will tell you he knows it not; it was so called by his fathers. Are our Celtic etymologists of names of places more wise than the Greeks and Romans?

I have dwelt the longer on this matter, because Celtic etymology is the favourite of this shallow age; and shall only observe, before quitting it, that by Gothic names I mean such whose form is Gothic, and may be traced in the northern kingdoms, Germany

and England. I have above produced a small hasty note of identic names in the northern kingdoms and in Scotland. And though the present English certainly came from Denmark, and the German shore; yet I cannot trace half that number of identic names in those countries and England. In Ireland most of the towns were built by the Danes and English; but names of villages are often Irish, and in Wales most towns and villages have Welsh names, so that Celtic names of towns have sure marks. For examples of what I call Gothic names in Scotland, take on the west *Dunson, Campbeltown, Southend, Knapdale, Mel-ford, Braccadale, Stornaway, Bewisdale, Annon, Dun-staffnage, Skipness, Pluckhart, Everdale, Kingsburgh, Burg, Seaforth, Dundonald, Duncegan, Limesholder, Barvie, Stonfield, &c. &c. &c.*

From all that has been said the reader will observe, that they, who infer the Piks to have been Welsh, because thirty Welsh names, or at least names in *Aber* and *Lan*, occur in Scotland, reason not more accurately than he who would prove the Germans Welsh, because names in *Aber* and *Lan* occur in Germany. That the argument is in itself of no avail; for that granting these thirty names Welsh, what is to be said to the ten thousand Gothic names in Scotland, which are utterly forgotten? And that these few Welsh names in Scotland are most easily accounted for, because they are either very ancient, as those of rivers and mountains especially, and perhaps of some towns, and in that case remains of the old Celtic inhabitants; or less ancient, as some of towns and villages which arose from churches founded by Welsh clergymen.

Having thus, it is hoped, satisfactorily answered the whole arguments, if they deserve that name, for the Piks being Welsh, I shall give the reader an abstract of invincible authorities and facts, shewing that

they were not Welsh : and then, leaving this controversy, proceed to detail the real origin of the Piks.

1. Tacitus says that the Caledonians, or Piks, were of Germany, as he judged from their red hair, and other marks, that they were Germans. The Scandinavians ever have been, and are, remarkable for red hair, as are the other Germans. The Welsh and Irish are a black-haired race. These marks in the days of Tacitus were as decisive, as that the African blacks have curled hair, the Indian lank hair.

2. Eumenius tells, that in the time of Julius Cæsar the Piks were the accustomed enemies of the Britons. Could the Britons, or Welsh, be the accustomed enemies of themselves ?

3. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the Piks along with the Saxons, and other foreign nations, who infested the Britons.

4. Gildas says the Piks came *ab aquilone*, from the north, to infest the Britons, and always speaks of them as quite a different people. Had they been really of his own Welsh countrymen, what food for declamations had their cruelty to their own brethren been !

5. Adomnan, who, about 690, wrote the Life of Columba, the apostle of the Piks, mentions that he had an interpreter between him and that people. Columba was an Irishman, so that the Piks could not be Gael : and even from this they would seem not Cumri, for we find Patrick a Cumraig preached to the Irish without an interpreter, as may be seen in

* Illo in tempore quo Sanctus Columba in Pictorum provincia per aliquot demorabatur dies, quidam cum tota plebeius familia verbum vitæ, per interpretatorem, Sancto prædicante viro audiens credidit, &c.—*Adomnan, Vita Columbæ, Lib. II. c. 12.* In the same chapter Adomnan calls the Piks “gentiles barbari,” barbarous pagans ; and always implies them quite a different people from his own Irish, in speech, manners, and every respect.

the many large lives of him, where not a word of an interpreter is mentioned.

6. Beda, a writer eminently learned, and superior to his age, tells us the Piks came from Scythia, as the Britons from Gaul, and the Old Scots from Ireland. Jornandes, and most writers of the dark ages, call Scandinavia Scythia, and they thought the most ancient Scythians came from it. Beda also says there were in his time five languages in Britain, Latin, English, Pikish, Scottish, British.

7. Nennius and Samuel, who both lived and wrote in conjunction, in 858, tell that the Piks came from the Orkneys, about 300 years before Christ. These writers were both Welsh; and their testimony is conclusive that the Piks were not Welsh, for they speak of the Piks, while the Pikish name was in full power, and mention the Piks as a people spreading, in their own time, from Galloway to the Orkneys.

8. The Saxon Chronicle, and whole writers of England, and Wales, and Scotland, and Ireland, preceding Camden, amounting to perhaps a hundred of all ages, who mention the Piks, uniformly derive them from Scandinavia and the Orkneys.

9. Giraldus Cambrensis positively calls the Piks *gentem Gothicam*, a Gothic nation. Even Geoffrey of Monmouth says expressly, that the Piks came from Scythia to the north of Britain, and so downward. And he ever describes them as quite a different people from the Welsh; for which reason, and as he founded a new school in English history, he is quoted. For, though a fabulist, he could not be ignorant if the Piks were Welsh, or not, as they existed in his time under their old name, as appears from English writers of the War of the Standard.

10. The Piks are uniformly mentioned by all ancient writers who speak of them, though without telling their origin, as a distinct peculiar people, nei-

ther Welsh, nor Irish, nor Gaelic ; but as different from either as English from Welsh.

11. The monuments of the Piks, the *Piks houses*, &c. can neither be found in Wales nor Ireland, though in the Orkneys many exist, and some in Scandinavia.

12. Nennius and Samuel avouch the Piks to have held their usual territory in 858. The Irish Annals of Tighernac and Ulster mention Kenneth and his successors, down to Donal II. 894, as kings of the Piks. Ailred, Richard of Hexham, and other contemporary writers, assert, that at the War of the Standard, 1138, the Piks claimed the first place in the Scottish army, as their ancient right. Now the west being given to the Irish, the Piks were latterly inhabitants of the north, east, and south of Scotland, as all know ; the people of which, to this day, are quite a distinct race from the Highlanders of the west. And the language of these parts was always Gothic, as innumerable names of places remain to shew, and as it is at this day.

More arguments might be adduced ; but these are sufficient, as they admit of no answer, save by rejecting all ancient authorities and facts ; that is, by building romance on the ruins of history. For he who denies ancient authorities, and prefers his own conjectures, is a fabulist, and not a historian. It also deserves remark, that, of modern authors, those confessedly the most eminent for learning have always asserted the Piks to have come from Scandinavia. Buchanan, Humphrey Lluyd, Verstegan, Usher, Stillingfleet, Sibbald, Sheringham, may be named, at a time when Camden alone was on the other side : but in this superficial century, when writers copy each other, and examine nothing to the bottom, the opinion that the Piks were Welsh, though, as above shewn, absolutely erroneous, has been more preva-

lent. Yet in this age the truth has also witnesses in D'Anville, and the authors of the Encyclopedie. Nor can the assertors of the new opinion be dismissed without the censure which the learned Sheringham passes on such writers; *temerarii, et vix sani hominis, est, quidvis ex libidine affirmare, vel negare; et sine firma ratione scriptoribus fidem demere*; "it is the part of a rash madman to affirm or deny whatever he pleases, and without any reason to refuse faith to authorities."

More arguments might be adduced; but these are sufficient, as they admit of no answer, save by rejecting all ancient authorities and facts; that is, by building romance on the ruins of history. For he who denies ancient authorities, and pretends his own conjectures, is a fabulist, and not a historian. It also deserves remark, that of modern authors, those who asserted the Piks to have come from Scandinavia, viz. Humphrey Lloyd, Vesterman, Usher, Sibbald, Sheringham, may be named, at a time when Camden alone was on the other side; but in this superficial century, when writers copy each other, and examine nothing to the bottom, the opinion that the Piks were Welsh, though as above shown, absolutely erroneous, has been more prevail-

CHAPTER III.

Origin of the Piks.

THE antiquities of a nation may be regarded as either *Poetical* or *Historical*. The former are such as have not that certainty requisite to history, yet cannot be called absolutely false, but have verisimilitude sufficient to recommend them to poetry, which delights in distant events, where it can raise a fairy light in the dark. The voyage of Æneas to Italy, the founding of Carthage by Dido, and the like very remote events in national story, are of this kind; as no sober author will admit them into history, and yet they appear to advantage in poetry. In like manner the origin of the Piks admits of a poetical, and an historical, division. The poetical is that which traces them from Colchis to Scandinavia: the historical finds them in Norway, and traces them from Norway to Scotland. The reader is requested to attend to this division, that he may not accuse the author of lending *historical* faith to *poetical* evidence; but judge impartially, and give the poetical part only poetical faith. It is fully sufficient that we find the Piks in Norway, and trace them to Scotland. History requires no more. But as this work may serve the future poetry, as well as history of Scotland, and it is pleasing to search a point of antiquity to the very bottom, no further apology shall be made for dwelling a little on the Poetical Origin of the Piks.

§ I. *Poetical Origin of the Piks.*

If the reader will peruse the Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians, or Goths, to be found at the end of this work, he will see such grounds as so remote an event can afford to believe that the *Peukini*, who by all accounts proceeded from the isle of *Peuké* at the mouth of the Danube, were originally the *Piki* of ancient Colchis. These *Piki* Pliny places between the Palus Mæotis and Ceraunian Mountains. The Ceraunian Mountains, as appears from Ptolemy and others, were between the river Tanais, or Don, and the Caspian Sea, to the north-east of Caucasus, which was another chain extending from the Euxine to the Caspian. The *Piki* were apparently where the map of Sarmatia and Scythia, by Cluverius, places the *Petigori* on the river Varadanus, being on the east of present Circassia. These *Piki* were remarkable in ancient fable. Nonnus¹ tells us, that they were the same people who were called Γρυφαι, Griffons, by the Greeks, and against whom the Arimaspi fought to get the guarded gold :

As when a gryfon through the wilderness,
With winged course, o'er hill or moory dale,
Pursues the Arimaspi, who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloined
The guarded gold.—*Milt. Par. Lost*, II. 943.

M. D'Hancarville thinks they were called Griffons, because they worshipped the sun, whose emblem was a griffon, as appears from many coins of Abdera, a city of Thrace. However this be, Plautus celebrates the golden mountains of the *Piki* :

Picos divitiis, qui aureos montes colunt,
Ego solus supero.—*Aulularia*, prope fin.

¹ Dionys. II. 641.

Upon the Argonautic expedition, 1263 years before Christ, a party of Colchians, pursuing the Argonauts without success, settled at the mouth of the Danube. The kingdom of Colchis was anciently very large and powerful, as appears from all the ancients, who mention it, and included many nations. Of these it is highly probable the Piki were one; and were those Colchian subjects who were sent in pursuit of the Argonauts. Ovid, who lived nine years in exile at Tomi, southward of the Danube's mouth, marks the Colchi as separated from his residence by the Danube:

Solus ad egressus missus septemplicis Istri

Parrhasiæ gelido virginis axe premor.

Jazyges, et Colchi, Metereaue turba, Getæque,

Danubii mediis vix prohibentur aquis.

Trist. Lib. II. el. 1.

The Jazyges were a Sarmatian people on the northern banks of the Tyras: Meterea was a town on the Tyras: the Getæ were on the north of the Danube: the Colchi here mentioned were in all appearance of Peuké, a large island in the mouth of the Danube. The original Colchians were on the opposite shore of the Euxine, and had no concern with the Danube. It is true, that Apollonius Rhodius, in his admirable poem, says that the Istrians on the Adriatic Sea were those Colchians who pursued the Argonauts; but his account is an absolute impossibility, for he tells, that the Colchians sailed all up the Danube, in pursuit of the Argonauts, and drew their ships over land to settle in present Istria. It seems apparent that there was a people at the mouth of the Danube, or Ister, called Istrii, and that these, being expelled by the Colchians, went and settled on the Adriatic; while the Colchians, who held their old seats, were, by a confusion inseparable from tradition, mistaken by some for the old inhabitants. Ovid, who lived on the spot, is a clear evidence of a Colchian colony on the

north of the Danube ; for the Istrii he could not allude to, as they were a thousand miles distant, and on the south of the Danube, while all the other nations he mentions were near him, and on the north. If the Piki were the real ancestors of the Peukini, and settled in Peuké 1263 years before Christ, they might easily in the course of less than seven hundred years populate the space between Peuké and the Baltic ; and passing the Baltic, possess the south of Scandinavia more than 500 years before Christ ; a period about which it would appear, as mentioned in the above quoted Dissertation, that their Scythic brethren had peopled all Germany to the British Sea. If this *poetical* hypothesis be followed, the whole Basternæ (Peukini, Sitones, and Atmoni) must be supposed to originate from Peuké ; as indeed Peukini and Basternæ are synonymous names with Pliny and Tacitus.

But the *poet* who chuses to commence the Pikish origin only at the isle of Peuké, will approach nearer to history, though he will not be the best skilled in his own art. The Peukini can indeed be traced with geographic certainty from Peuké into Scandinavia, as expressly shewn in the Dissertation annexed. The reader will there see that part of the Peukini still remained in Peuké and Thrace, in the time of Strabo ; that from thence they can be traced, from Tacitus and Ptolemy, up to the shore of the Baltic in present Prussia. That the Sitones, another Basternic nation, or (if we follow Pliny and Tacitus, and allow the Peukini and Basternæ synonymous terms) a nation of the Peukini, were in Scandinavia in the time of Tacitus. And that if, in opposition to Pliny and Tacitus, we hold the Peukini to be only a nation of the Basternæ, they lay nearer to the Baltic than the Sitones, and proceeded, as appears from Ptolemy, in a direct line ; while the Sitones moved round by the west side of the Vistula : so that the Peukini, as

they can be traced to the shore of the Baltic, while a part of the Sitones held the opposite coast of Scandinavia, had in every probability sent a colony into Scandinavia before the Sitones, which proceeding north-west was lost to the eyes of the ancients, by whom no part of Scandinavia was known, save the southern shores. It is also shewn from Strabo, that the Basternæ held Scandinavia; and that, if we refuse Basternæ and Peukini to be synonymous, it were yet unreasonable to suppose that the Peukini, the greatest nation of the Basternæ, and who can actually be traced to the very opposite shore, had no part in these settlements. But having dwelt so fully on this subject in that Dissertation, and produced the proofs in order, it is unnecessary here to recapitulate more, seeing that it is sufficient for the present purpose to trace the Piks in that part of Scandinavia now called Norway; and thence to Scotland.

§ II. *Historical Origin of the Piks.*

Tacitus, the first writer who mentions the people of Caledonia, or Piks, expresses his opinion that they were of German origin. Beda tells us they came from Scythia, a name which Jornandes, about 530, had given to Scandinavia; and which continued to be applied to that country till the eleventh century, when the special denominations of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway became known to all Europe. All the other ancient writers, who mention the origin of the Piks, derive them from Scandinavia; so that no doubt can remain, save with such superficial writers as speak of opinions when they should speak of facts, and prefer their own weak conceits to that positive evidence upon which alone all ancient history stands. Indeed, to judge from reason only, it might readily

be inferred that the Piks, a people, as all the ancients shew, quite different from the old Scots, or Irish, and from the old Britons, or Welsh, as possessing North Britain, could only originate from a country near to North Britain, as Norway is. And when reason and ancient authorities thus coalesce, they constitute that highest degree of historical truth, which even approaches to mathematical demonstration. In Scandinavia therefore, that large peninsular track, including Norway, Sweden, and a part of Denmark, we are to look for the Piks : and while we find a people of the same name in the south of Norway, the part next to Scotland, the evidence becomes as complete as human history can afford.

Scandinavia was by the Romans, who only knew a small part of its southern coasts, esteemed not improperly a German island. It is indeed more properly a vast island, than a peninsula ; as its extent is so great, and the part that connects it with the continent so narrow. For all the south, west, and north quarters are surrounded with sea ; and on the east, the lakes Ladoga and Onega are connected by large rivers, or rather outlets : and between the lake Onega and the White Sea, being the only part where there is a passage into Scandinavia by land, there is another lake and river, rendering that single passage not above two miles broad. The circumference of Scandinavia is about two thousand two hundred miles ; and of that whole circumference only two miles being land, it seems rather an impropriety to call it a peninsula, than objectionable to term it an island. Tacitus ranks the Sitones, a people of Scandinavia, among the Germans ; and the other ancients account it an island of Germany, and its inhabitants Germans.

This vast country seems to have been first peopled by Fins and Laplanders, whom Ihre thinks the earliest inhabitants of the whole. But there is great

reason to suppose, that these people, being from the east, had not extended further west than their present bounds, when they were stopt by the Scythians, or Goths, from the south. For there are no Finnish or Laplandic names in Sweden, or in Norway, though had such been given to rivers, or mountains, they must have in some cases remained. The Finnish and Laplandic names are very peculiar, and distinct from the Gothic: almost all end in *vi* or *o*; and they are generally soft as the Italian. Nor in the Eddas, or ancient Sagas, is there a hint of any conflicts with the Fins, or Laplanders, though they inform us that Odin conquered the Cimbri.

Mela, who wrote in the reign of Claudius, about 45 years after Christ, says, Book III. ch. 3. that the Cimbri and Teutones held the islands in the *Sinus Codanus*, or gulf between Jutland and Scandinavia. And ch. 6. he says, there were seven islands in that gulf, and that the Teutones still had Codanovia, the largest and best of these islands. These seven islands seem Funen, Alsen, Longland, Laland, Falster, Mone, Femeren. Funen, called Tutofunen in the map of Cluverius, is by far the largest and best of these, and is perhaps that meant by Mela. As to Zeeland, an island equal in size to all these put together, it was called Scandia by Ptolemy and other ancients, and lies beyond these seven islands; so that it seems to have been unknown to Mela, and by no means to have been his Codanovia, as some think. Tacitus, by some accident in his information, seems to have known little of Jutland; for he says nothing of the Cimbric Chersonese, nor *Sinus Codanus*, nor Teutoni; and only mentions in general the nations that possessed the large Cimbric Chersonese, though without marking it by that name.

Upon the whole, the Cimbri anciently possessed Jutland; and the Teutones the islands between it

and Scandinavia. But that the Cimbri, or Teutones, ever were in Scandinavia itself, there is not a shadow of proof. Pliny, the first writer who mentions Scandinavia, says it was possessed by the Hilleviones. The Basternæ, those Germans, or Goths, who peopled Scandinavia, entering on the south-east, proceeded north and west; and seem, some centuries after they possessed Scandinavia, to have made expeditions against the Cimbri and Teutones, who were on the southern shores opposite to them. These nations, being unable to withstand their invaders, were forced to relinquish their territories to them. Being also surrounded with other Germans, or Goths, on the south, they seem to have obtained leave to pass through the territories of the latter, in quest of new inhabitants, which, as Cæsar¹ shews, was not an unusual practice among the nations of Gaul and Germany. This the southern Goths would readily grant, as every motive of policy and interest must have induced them. The Cimbri and Teutones first came to the territories of the Belgæ, who, as Cæsar tells,² repulsed them. But turning to the east of the Belgæ, where lay the forest of Arduenna, and tracks of desert land, the Cimbri and Teutones burst upon Celtic Gaul. For Cæsar expressly says, the Cimbri and Teutones seized on ALL Gaul,³ that is, all Gaul Proper, or Celtic Gaul, as he informs us that the Belgæ repelled them; and that from thence they burst into Provincial Gaul and Italy. This passage of Cæsar is of great importance, and yet has never been explained, and hardly even attended to. The Cimbri and

¹ See the example of the Helvetii. *De Bell. Gall. Lib. I.* and others.

² *Lib. II.*

³ *Bell. Gall. Lib. I. quum OMNEM Galliam occupassent, ut ante Cimbri, Teutonique fecissent: and Lib. II. OMNI Gallia vexata, Teutones, &c. and again, Lib. VII.*

Teutones, had they seized all Celtic Gaul, could not, one would imagine, want new habitations; yet these were all they required from the Romans, as we know from history.¹ It is impossible to account for the ideas of these barbarians. Had they wanted waste grounds to cultivate, they might have found them in the forest of Arduenna. Had they wanted to possess cultivated lands, they had them in Celtic Gaul, and the province. Yet they abandon all to march into Italy. Plutarch also informs, that they invaded Spain before turning upon Italy. So far as can be judged, the Cimbri and Teutones, finding the sweets of a roving and plundering life, preferred it to any settlement; and, being unused to agriculture in their first seats, considered cultivated lands only with a view of pillage. Their demand of lands from the Romans seems to have been a mere pretence: rapine and plunder their sole pursuits. Like the Huns afterward, they settled nowhere, but followed war as a trade. Many of the German nations were agricultural, as Tacitus shews; and Cæsar tells that the Belgæ of Britain were distinguished from the indigenes, or Celts, by agriculture. The Celts were remarkable even to late times for a total neglect of agriculture, and for plundering their neighbours. Plutarch says the Germans called banditti, *Cimbri*. For the Gothic agricultors naturally gave this epithet to their Celtic neighbours, who preyed upon their labours; as the Highlanders, and Irish Celts, were called *Caterens*, *Kerns*, or plunderers.

That the shock which drove the Cimbri and Teutones out of the north of Germany must have come from the north of their possessions, is clear; for, had it proceeded from the south, they must have been driven into Scandinavia. In other words, the Scan-

¹ Plutarch in Mario, &c.

dinavians must have expelled the Cimbri and Teutones; and it is reasonable to infer of course that they seized their seats. Hence it appears to me, that Jutland, and the Danish isles, were peopled with Goths from Scandinavia, and not from Germany. This opinion seems confirmed by that surest mark, the speech of these parts; which is not the German dialect of the Gothic, but the Scandinavian dialect of that tongue; and this distinction between Germany and the Danish dominion has always been marked and precise. The nations which Tacitus finds in present Jutland, namely, the Angli, Varini, Eudoses, Suardones, and Nuithones, and the Suiones of Zealand, will of course be originally Scandinavians. Ptolemy names the nations in present Jutland, Sigulones, Sabelengii, Cobandi, Chali, Phundusii, Charudes; but his authority, compared to that of Tacitus, who lived near the spot, is of little moment; and not one name of his nations is to be found, save in his book, while the real names, as given by Tacitus, occur in many authors. But of this more fully in the Dissertation annexed.

Having thus attempted to elucidate the origin of the Scandinavian nations, especially the Cimbri and Teutones, who might be supposed to have possessed the south of Scandinavia, whence the *Piks* proceeded to North Britain, it is proper to resume the consideration of the latter. This name, which has been so much mistaken by ancient and modern authors, requires the first examination.

The labial letters, and among others the *P* and *V*, are very apt to be interchanged in oral language. Hence the same people were called *Pihtar*, or *Piks*, more anciently and properly; and latterly *Vihtveriar*, and by contraction, *Vihtar*, or *Viks*. The first name was the most ancient, though even in Ammianus we find *Vecturiones* for *Piks*. Common names are indeed

liable to perpetual corruption and abuse. In Norway, the real ancient name seems to have been Pihtar, as we find it in the Saxon Chronicle; but afterward Vihtar, as in the Sagas, all of which are later than that Chronicle. Having premised these remarks, let us proceed to illustrate the ancient seats of the Piks in Norway.

Torfæus, the greatest antiquary whom this century has produced, and deserving of the highest praise, not only from his country, but from all Europe, has, in the description of Norway, which commences his large and valuable history of that country, given us many lights on *Vika* or *Vichia*, the ancient kingdom of the Piks, though he has not dropt one hint that it produced the Piks so noted in Roman history. His researches, confined to northern antiquities, have not suggested to him the least idea of this; and I am forced to take upon myself the whole weight of this discovery. Torfæus informs us, that the whole of that country in the south of Norway, which surrounds the bay of Opslo, or Osloa, or Christiana, was anciently called *VIKA*, and its islands the *VIKR* Isles. It comprehended the provinces of *Raumarik*, *Ringarik*, *Hadaland*, *Thotnia*, *Heidmarch*, and *Gudbrandzdal*. This country is in modern maps called *The Government of Agerhus*, being about two hundred miles long, and one hundred broad. It is remarkable that it lies on the east, and not on the west of Norway, where one would naturally imagine that the government of Bergen, being the whole southwest part of Norway, and stretching along the Western Ocean, would have been the natural parent of those Piks, who crossed that small track of that ocean which lies between Norway and Scotland. But these affairs do not happen in such formal order, else the Dutch, and not the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, would have seized England. It may, however, well be in-

ferred, that, in times preceding any Sagas, or other memorials of Norwegian history, the whole Norwegians were called Pihtar, as being Peukini, though afterward this name only remained to a great part; as Es-Sex, and Middle Sex, or East Saxony, and Middle Saxony, remain names of counties in England, though not exceeding a quarter of the ancient dominions of the Saxons in that country. Be this as it may, it is sufficient that ancient Vika stretched along that sea, which is to the south of Norway, to the extent of about one hundred and fifty miles; for *Vik-Siden*, or the Vik Side, spread, even in the time of Torfæus, down to Bahus on the east. Here were 150 miles of sea-coast open to the people of Vika, directly opposite to the north of Scotland, and only about 240 miles from it.

There are no Northern Sagas or Histories extant which can be called older than the eleventh century. Arius Frodi, the first historian, is of the twelfth century; Snorro Sturleson of the thirteenth. Much obscurity therefore hangs around the history of Norway till about the year 900, when Harald Harfagre, one of the petty kings of that country, conquering ten or twelve others, arose monarch of all Norway. Among the conquered kingdoms, Vika is expressly mentioned by Torfæus, II. 18. But the inland parts of this large country had been split into three or four kingdoms, Rauma-rik, Ringa-rik, Heidmark, &c. all of which occur often in Torfæus by these names, and under distinct kings; while the kingdom of Vika was confined to that part which lay along the sea, as appears from many passages of Torfæus, and especially frequent mention of invaders landing and ravaging the territories of Vika. And Olaus Magnus means this part, when he says, *Vichia olim regnum*: "Vichia, anciently a kingdom."

* *Historia* (should be *descriptio*) Gent. Septen. ad fin. ubi Elenchus Regn. Sept.

Such hints as can be found concerning Vika or Vichia in the northern writers shall here be thrown together. Torfæus describes *Vik-Siden*, a great part of the coast of ancient Vika yet retaining that name, as a beautiful country, ornamented with large plains, thick woods of fir, and moderate hills, that, swelling down to the shore, are intersected with large and small creeks. The ancient inhabitants were of remarkable ferocity, and scrupled not to invade and ravage their neighbours. The river *Gautelf* runs through this part of Vika, and forms a great cataract, under which, between the water and the rocks, banditti used to lurk. In this part of Vika is also *Konga-hilla*, or Kings-hill, central to the dominions of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; and where the three kings used to meet when a conference was appointed. This country is fertile, and remarkable for ale of peculiar strength. The shore was anciently noted for its herring fishery, but the shoals have now abandoned it. The south-east part was also called *Alfheim*, from Alf, the king. *Fredericshall*, where Charles XII. was shot, stands in the midst of this country. *Dall Vik* was another division of Vika, comprising three provinces, *Rauma-rik*, *Heidmarch*, and *Gudbrandzdal*.

In the Edda we find *Vitr-Gut*, the grandson, and *Pitta*, the great grandson of Odin. Some of these names seem national, as we find *Geta*, &c. in other genealogies from Odin; and it may well be suspected, that *Vitr-Gut* and *Pitta* have both reference to the *Vikr Goths* or *Pihtar*. Torfæus observes, in his *Series Regum Daniæ*, that this *Pitta* is called *Vitta* by the Saxon writers of England; and he generally occurs in the genealogies of their kings from Odin, along with *Geta*, &c. In the *Nori Regnum* of Ramus, being an history of Norway prior to Harald Harfagre, or 900, we find the following story concerning a king of Vika, which Ramus dates in the year of the

world 3960, or about 40 years before Christ. But, according to the error of last century, the northern authors placed events many ages too ancient; and Torfæus and Ramus have shewn so little judgment in this point, as to suppose the events preceding our era known, and those for many centuries after unknown: of which Ramus, in this very book, affords a remarkable instance, for he narrates numerous matters prior to our era, yet gravely tells us, that for the first 338 years after it, nothing is known! Torfæus had in like manner dated the reign of Hrolf Krak, king of Denmark, before our era; till, upon further examination of his story, finding adventures with a king of Northumberland, and the like, he was forced to date it 500 years after. But, in fact, there is no memory of northern affairs preceding the year 500;¹ and this tale may be dated about the eighth century. Here it is. “At that time died Asvid, son of Alf, king of Heidmarch. Asmund, king of Vikia, the son of Bero, wishing not to survive the death of his *sworn brother*, took with him some meat and drink, and went down into the sepulchre of Asvid, which was in a deep cavern. Eric coming to the place with many Swedes, his soldiers expecting to find a treasure in the tomb of Asvid, opened a passage to the cavern at its top, and let down one of their number in a basket. Asmund, repenting of his resolution, seized the occasion, threw out the soldier, and mounting the basket himself, was drawn up by the Swedes. They being terrified out of measure at this unexpected apparition, fled with great precipitation, Asmund in vain trying to recal them. For he was so torn in the face, by fighting every night with the ghost of Asvid, that he resembled a mangled corse.”²

¹ See Dissertation annexed.

² The book of Ramus being very scarce, the original is subjoined. “*Illis diebus fato concesserat Asvidus; cujus sepulchrum, ob*

Ramus also mentions Alf, king of Alfheim, or Vikia, whose daughter Alfhilda, Starcater, the Fingal of the north, carried off and married. Torfæus, in his History of Norway, is quite full of Vika; as a country of Norway, and as bordering on the southern sea, the most exposed to invasions. But of its kings, I believe few other names are known except the two above mentioned. The whole history of Norway prior to 900, when Harold Harfagre, or fair-hair, became sole king, is unknown, or bordering on romance. Vika being latterly but one of ten or twelve kingdoms in Norway, its history has perished, as that of the others; both by reason of the confusion inseparable from the mingled events of such small states, and because no writers arose till the twelfth century, long after the extinction of these states. Eric Blodox, son and successor of Harald Harfagre, 933, had at first but half of Norway; Olaf, one of his brothers, usurping Vika, and Sigrod, the other, Thrandia: but Eric entering Vika, engaged both his brothers, and slew them. In 938, Torfæus tells, that Haco, king of Norway, restored Thorstein, lord of Vika, to his hereditary possession; and in 942, Haco cleared Vika of Danes and pirates. About the year 1000, in the time of Harold Blaatand, we find strong disputes in Vika, whether the Pagan or Christian religion should prevail. King Olaf Tryggvin, about 1025, converted all Vicha to

amicitiæ fœdus, adscito potu et cibo, intraverat Asmundus Beronis Vikiæ rex, jurati fratris neci superesse nolens. Inciderat jam forte Ericus, cum magna Suecorum manu, in Asvidi tumultum: cum Sueci, thesaurum se inventuros rati, perfracto colle, militem sporta in antrum dimittunt. Ea captata occasione, militem de sede disjecit Asmundus, ejusque loco corbem ipse conscendens a Suecis extractus est. Illi forma ejus inusitata territi, in pedes se conjiciunt; Asmundo timidos frustra revocante. Adeo enim erat facie laceratus, certamine scilicet cum Asvidi manibus nocte quavis habito, ut defuncti plane speciem referret." p. 33. *Sworn brothers* is a well known term of chivalry, derived from the early customs of the Goths.

Christianity. After this Vika is often mentioned, till the close of the Norwegian history, in the fourteenth century, when it coalesced with that of Denmark. The Vikar were a rebellious people; and in particular the grand faction of the *Baglar*, so prominent in the later history of Norway, consisted chiefly of Vikar.¹

In the Icelandic, or old Norwegian tongue, *wik* is a *bay* or *haven*, as some say; but, according to the Icelandic lexicon of Andreas, *Vik* is a *promontory*, or *corner*. Many towns in the northern kingdoms end in *wic* or *vic*, as *Sandwic* in Norway, &c. But this word cannot well, in either acceptation, be supposed to be the very name of VIKA, a territory 200 miles long, and 100 broad; for how absurd an appellation would *the Bay, the Haven, the Corner, the Promontory*, be for such a country! Beside, the whole northern writers call this country as often *Vichia* as *Vika*, and have never dropt a single hint that this name was from *vik*. There is one kingdom in Europe which takes its name from a haven, Portugal from *Portus Calle*; but this name is from a special haven; and to have called it *The Haven* in general, would have been so absurd, as never to have struck the weakest mind; for it would have been a name that was no name, but might apply to a thousand other places. It therefore appears that VIK or VICH, the name of this kingdom, has no more connexion with *vik*, “a haven,” &c. than any word has to do with another identically so spelled, but of a quite different import. We know what smiles Somner occasioned when he derived *Cumberland* from people being *cumbered* in going over its hills. Flintshire, it is presumed, did not take that name from its abounding in *flint*; nor Cheshire from its *cheese*. But so obvious a point need not be insisted on; and it appears to me that the

¹ Torfæi, Hist. Norv. *passim*.

name of *Vik*, and its people *Vikar*, are mere oral alterations of *Pik* and *Pikar*, the most ancient names; and these, in all probability, a small variation from the name *Peukini*, as *Suitiod*, or Sweden, is certainly from the *Sitones*.

From *Vik*, a haven, the word *Vikingur*, a pirate, seems to be formed, though Andreas derives it from *Vig*, a ship. Some antiquaries have lately supposed that the name *Piks* is but a slight variation of *Vikingur*, or pirates; but this opinion is liable to many objections. 1. The very name *Vikingur* is too remote from the name *Pihtar*, or *Pehts*, or *Piks*, to be the same; for though all grant P and V are labial letters easily commutable, yet the *ingur* of the termination is essential, and incapable of omission or change. 2. The Saxon Chronicle, and King Alfred, in his translation of Beda, call the *Piks* *Pihtar*, *Pyhtar*, *Pehtar*, *Peohtar*; and the word *Vikingur* is not to be found in writers more ancient than these, nor are the Runic monuments in which it is found more ancient; so that had *Vikingur* been the real indigenal name, it could not have escaped writers contemporary with the *Pikish* monarchy, and of a nation bordering on the *Piks*. 3. The old English historians sometimes call the Danish pirates who invaded England *Viccingi*, which is clearly the northern word *Vikingur*, but the *Piks* they always call *Picti*. 4. The words *Pihtar*, *Pyhtar*, *Pehtar*, *Vikar*, *Vichar*, are absolute national names; while *Vikingur*, or pirate, is a mere professional denomination, and could only apply to those actually engaged in it.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it must be observed, that the names *VIK* and *VIKAR* can be traced in Scandinavia, so as to shew that it must have been once much spread. In Sweden, is *Vikia*, a track of Ostrogothia, four miles long, and one and a half broad. Nay, on the south-east shore of the Baltic, in

Esthonia, is another *Vikia*, a district twelve miles long, and ten broad. Though these small parts, compared to the Vika of Norway, be as drops to the ocean, yet being in the identic progress by which, as is shewn in the Dissertation annexed, the Peukini proceeded into Scandinavia, it might not be wholly unreasonable to infer that they derive their names from some of the Peukini settled there.¹ So the Saxons, who gave their name to Saxony in Germany, have also imparted it to Es-sex, and Middle-sex, and Sus-sex, in England.

That the nations who over-ran Europe upon the fall of the Roman empire proceeded from Scandinavia, is shewn, in the Dissertation added, to be a vulgar error, built solely on a gross misrepresentation of the meaning of Jornandes, a weak writer of a barbarous age; who says the old Scythians proceeded from Scandinavia, and that it is of course the real ancient Scythia: but who in this wild assertion is flatly contradicted by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancients, who expressly mark the progress of the Scythians to have been from present Persia; so that their course lay north-west, instead of south-east; and Scandinavia, instead of the first, was almost the last country they held. Scandinavia is one of the most mountainous regions in the world, and such countries are always thinly inhabited, as it always has been, and is at present. The sole colonies it ever sent forth were, 1. The Piks into Scotland, the opposite shore. 2. The Jutes and Danes. And latterly, after the eighth century, 3. The Normans into France. 4. The

¹ Rudbeck, Atlant. I. 673, mentions, as on the north of Sweden, the "*Packtar, Paiktar, Pitur, Medel Paktar*; Britanni *Peihtar* appellant:" and says in another place, Vol. II. "*Nostri infimam plebem Paik, et pueros servulosque Poikar appellant.*" It seems hence that the ancient name remained in remote corners, and among the vulgar, who retain old usages longest.

Waregori into Russia. 5. Into Iceland and Greenland. 6. Into Ireland, the Hebudes and Orkneys.*

Now it is remarkable, that in the three first of these colonies the name of the *Vikar*, the chief people of ancient Norway, occurs. The Piks bear it expressly, with the mere change of a labial letter, which change was in the word *Vikar*, not in *Pikar*; for the northern nations, fond of close and hard sounds, as the cold climate renders their fibres rigid, and makes them speak much through the teeth, or with as close lips as possible, naturally preferred the close *V* to the open *P*, and thus changed the ancient *Pikar* to *Vikar*. The Jutes are by the northern nations called *Yeuts*; and Jutland, *Yeutland*, the *J* having here the same sound as in the Italian. But this country was anciently called *Vitland*, or *Pitland*; and its inhabitants, *Vits*, or *Pits*. Verelius, a learned northern antiquary, tells that Jutland is the mere modern name of *Vitland*; and Beda expressly calls the Jutes always *Vitæ*, or *Vits*. Nor was this appellation of *Vits*, or *Pits*, confined to Jutland, but extended even to the Danish isles; for Meursius informs us, that in ancient times Zeeland, the grand seat of the Danish monarchy, with Langland and Mona, were called *Vitslett*; which the learned Stephanus, in his notes on Saxo, p. 28. col. 2. confirms, adding, that the same name also extended to Falster and Laland, two other

* All these colonies are well known, except the Waregori. Muller, who published German translations of the old Russian Chronicles, first brought them to light, about 40 years ago. Nestor, the Russian annalist, who wrote about the year 1100, mentions that they consisted of *Urmans*, or Normans, *Inglani*, or Angles, and *Gothi*, or Yeuts. In 862 they had settled on the White Sea, and were thence invited into Russia. *Ruric*, or Roderic, their leader, fixed his throne at Novogorod in 864. Same year Oscold and Dir delivered Kiow from the Cosars, and reigned there. From Kiow they sailed down the Boristhenes, and invaded Constantinople. But Ruric was the founder of the Russian empire; and his house held the sceptre of Russia till 1598, or for seven centuries. *Muller, Samlang Russ. Gesch. Parerga Hist. Dantisci*, 1782, 4to.

of these isles, and that it preceded that of Denmark, and that the name Vitslett means *The field of the Vits*. Perhaps it arose from the circumstance of Scandinavia being hilly, and these isles plain and fertile. In the third colony of the Normans in France, though later than the two former by a thousand years, and caused not by an overflow of people, but merely by numbers of the Norwegians leaving their country, where Harald Harfagre exercised the tyranny of an universal conqueror, we still find this eminent name. For the province of *Picardie*, the derivation of whose name has baffled all the French antiquaries, was the earliest settlement of the Norwegians in France, who thence advanced to besiege Paris; and after acquired Normandie. But Picardie being actually seized and possessed by them for some time before they gained Normandie, it was not included in the grant of Normandie, because already theirs by full conquest and possession. Picardie is a province 48 leagues long, and 38 broad. Its rivers are la Somme, l'Oyse, la Cauche, la Scarpe, la Lys, and l'Aa. The name of Picardie is unknown till the thirteenth century, when Guillaume de Naugis first uses it, as Matthew of Paris, under the year 1229, speaks of the Picards who border on Flanders. It was about 900 that Ganga Hrolf, or Rollo the Walker, (so called, because no horse could support his weighty stature) a Norwegian earl, who, as not dishonourable in that age, practised piracy, landed and ravaged a part of Vika.¹ Harald Harfagre, the new monarch of all Norway, banished Rollo, who first passed to the western isles of Scotland; then invaded England, but without any success; and at last went to Neustria, or present Normandie, in France. After ravaging a great part of the north of France, and besieging Paris, at length in 912 a treaty was made, by which all Normandie was yielded to Rollo and his followers.

¹ See a Dissertation on Rollo in Torf. Hist. Norv. Tom. II.

Rollo lived to a great age, and left that province secure to his successors ; one of whom was after to ascend the throne of England. It was in 1205, that Normandie was re-united to France, by Philip Augustus : and it is remarkable that the name of Picardie begins first to appear at this time. This seems owing to the writers of Norman history being Frenchmen, and other foreigners, who used a general name for the whole people ; but when the French had gotten possession, and complete knowledge of the country, they found that the inhabitants of the eastern part called themselves Pikars, and used that denomination for them in course.

Having thus displayed the seats of the Piks in Scandinavia, it remains to trace them from thence to Scotland, which can be done with the utmost certainty that ancient history can bear.

Tacitus is the first writer who mentions the Caledonians, or Piks, in North Britain, and he gives his opinion that they came from Germany : and he includes the people of Scandinavia, the Suiones, and Sitones in Germany, so that Scandinavia was a part of his Germany. His words are, in describing Britain, *Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter Barbaros parum compertum. Habitus Corporum varii, atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant. Silurum colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines, et positu contra Hispaniam Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt : seu durante originis vi, seu, procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio cæli corporibus habitum dedit. In universum tamen æstimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est.* “ Moreover what mortals first inhabited Britain,

* Tacit. in Agricola. Tacitus adds, *Eorum sacra deprehendas superstitionum persuasione. Sermo haud multum diversus.* He is speaking

indigenal or adventitious, is, as usual with barbarians, little known. The habits of their bodies are various, whence arguments may rise. For the red hair and large limbs of those inhabiting Caledonia, assure us of their German origin. The tawny faces, and generally curled hair of the Silures, and their position opposite to Spain, make us believe that they are old Iberi, who passed over, and occupied these seats. Those next to the Gauls resemble the Gauls: whether because the strong feature of their origin continues, or that, their lands running out in diverse directions, the position of the climate gave a different habit to their bodies. Yet to one judging upon the whole, it is credible that the Gauls occupied the part next them." This passage is entitled to a commentary. The red hair and large limbs are to this day the grand features of the Scandinavians, while the Scottish, Irish, and Welsh Celts are remarkable for black hair, and a stature rather diminutive. The Germans were equally remarkable for their red, yellow, and flaxen hair, which are all but different shades of the same complexion. If my memory serves, some of the Roman writers mention the yellow hair of the Gauls, meaning those Gauls who bordered on Italy, those of Gallia Bracata, Helvetia, &c. up to Belgium, all of whom were real Germans, who had expelled the old Gauls to the west, or Celtic Gaul; and were called Gauls, as an Englishman is called a Briton. The marks here given by Tacitus, however slight they may seem now, are in fact extremely strong among savages, as the Britons then were. The olive complexion and lank hair of an East Indian; the copper colour of an American; the sable face and woolly head of an African, are infallible badges now:

of the Belgic Gauls, and the Belgæ in Britain; among the former he lived, and the latter were the only Britons he could know from proximity.

and so were the distinctions of the Britons in the time of Tacitus. The word *ASSEVERANT*, "assure," used by Tacitus with regard to the Caledonians being of German extract, is firm and invincible; for he had lived long among the Germans of Belgium, and if he did not attend Agricola to this country, he had an almost equal advantage of intimate and continual conversation with him. As to another division of the Britons, namely the Silures, Tacitus is not so clear. He says they might be of Spain, the circumstances *fidem faciunt*, "make us believe," "make it credible." Tacitus proceeds to mention that the Britons next Gaul resembled the Gauls; that is, the Belgæ of the south and east resembled the Belgic Gauls. And it also striking him at the same time, that the Celtic Gauls opposite to the inhabitants of the south-west of Britain resembled them, as in fact the Celts do at this day, in sun-burnt faces, and curled hair, he adds, that upon the whole it is credible that the Gauls occupied *vicinum solum*, the land next them; that is, it was credible that the Silures might also be of Gallic origin, as they lay near Gaul. A critic or two, who have intended to explain Tacitus to others, without understanding him themselves, have imagined that by the words *in universum*, "upon the whole," that great writer meant flatly to contradict himself in the course of two sentences; and to infer that all Britain was peopled from Gaul. *In universum* is a mere phrase of transition; and has perhaps been put by Tacitus with the same negligence, as he would have put *Sed*, or *Et*. He uses the very identic phrase when speaking of the German armies, *In universum æstimant plus penes peditem robur*, "Upon the whole, the infantry have more force." But as this implies not that all the German armies were of infantry, so neither does the former imply that all the Britons were of Gaul. He expressly adds, *vicinum solum*, "the

neighbouring land," which can never apply to Caledonia, a country 500 miles from Gaul; and the German origin of whose people he says is SURE, *as-severant*.

The weapons of war used by the Caledonians and Germans were also the same. Tacitus shews that both used long swords. In Annal. II. he gives long spears to the Germans, a weapon remarkable in Scotland to the latest times. Herodian, Book III. says, the Caledonians had short and narrow shields; and so Tacitus of the Germans, Annal. III.

The next writers who mention the Caledonians, are Dio and Herodian, who say nothing of their origin, but mention their custom of painting themselves; a custom, as above shewn, unknown to the Celts, and an infallible badge of a Gothic nation: as were the Belgæ of South Britain, who also retained it.

Eumenius and others, who mention the Piks, drop no hint of their origin. Claudian, who wrote about 390, alludes to it:

Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades. Incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule.
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

The whole of this passage alludes to the victory obtained over the Saxons, Piks, and Scots, the ravagers of Britain, by the general Theodosius. Claudian uses all the privilege of poetry, and swells even to bombast, a not unusual fault of his. The Orcades, his deceitful and poetic memory

(For, where the scorching beams of fancy play,
The memory's soft figures melt away)

has confounded with the Σαξονων νησοι, or Isles of the Saxons of Ptolemy, his countryman; which were above the mouth of the Elbe, and are now *de Strand*,

and other isles, almost swallowed up at the south-west extremity of Jutland, the real old seat of the Saxons, as Ptolemy marks them. These isles were opposite to the Orkneys, according to Ptolemy; and Claudian has from ignorance, or want of memory, confounded them. His verses evidently mean in bombastic praise to assert, that Theodosius, not content with repelling the Saxons, Piks, and Scots, chastised them all in their original seats, the Isles of the Saxons, here absurdly called Orcades; Thule, or Scandinavia; and Ierne, *Iern*, as the Greek writers call it, or Ireland. That Scandinavia was the Thule of the later Roman writers, is clear from Procopius. If with Claudian we assert Saxons in the Orkneys, we must prefer the language of fiction, to the sober prose truth of all the ancients. Some, to save his error, say this must have been a naval battle: but that this was impossible will appear from the narrative of the expedition of Theodosius given us by Ammianus. But, not to found on poetry, let us leave this passage, *valeat quantum valere potest*, and attend to plain prose.

Beda wrote in 731, and was an author of prodigious learning and judgment for the time, as his numerous works declare. His Ecclesiastic History of the English nation, in five books, is the best of these works. Would that it had been the civil history; and that with fifty pages of facts, we had not three hundred of miracles! Yet have we reason to rejoice that the Christian religion was then profest in Britain; as, without it, even these precious fifty pages of facts might never have appeared. Tacitus has his miracles as well as Beda, and without his apology. Nor is the *memorant qui interfuere*, respecting the miracles of Vespasian, much less risible, than the *vidimus* of Irish books curing poison, in Beda; who in that passage perhaps silently quotes, a practice not unusual in the middle ages, for this single word *vidimus* is the most promi-

ment of all Beda's book, who tells other miracles by hearsay. Livy is also full of miracles, though his judgment in other points has never been questioned. Beda's account of the origin of the Britons, Scots, and Angli, is unquestionably just, which makes us secure when he treats the Pikish origin. The Britons, he says, came *de tractu Armoricano*. By the Britons, Beda always means the Welsh; but the signification of his Armorica is not clear. The more common meaning of Armorica is Bretagne, and that the Welsh did not come from that track is certain. But the term Armorica was very lax; and seems to have extended in its real meaning of *on the sea*, or *sea-shore*, along the whole coast of Gaul, even up to the Rhine. And that the Cimbri, or German Celts, passed into South Britain from Belgic Gaul, as the Belgæ did long after, is most probable. Beda says, Book I. c. 21. that Germanus, bishop of Altisiodorum, or Auxerre, in Burgundy, went to Ravenna, *pro pace Armoricanæ gentis supplicaturus*, "to supplicate for the peace of Armorica." Auxerre is quite remote from Bretagne, but is on the borders of Belgic Gaul. Beda's Armorica seems to be French Flanders. After all, Beda is here speaking of the first population of this island, which was certainly by Gael, from Celtic Gaul, in which Armorica, in its usual acceptation of Bretagne, lies. Beda, not knowing that the Cimbri had driven those Gael into Ireland, might, from the great remoteness of that event, confound the two colonies; and thinking the Cimbri the first inhabitants, and learning that the first inhabitants came from Celtic Gaul, might of course derive the Cimbri from Celtic Gaul. This origin of the Britons is the only one given by Beda, which seems to need defence: and the reason is clear. The Gael had possibly peopled this country two thousand years before Christ, and the Cimbri one thousand. No wonder then that, in such remote events, Beda might be em-

barrassed. But the Piks had not come in till about 200 years before Christ; the Scots till 258 years after; nor the Jutes till 449 years after. The Piks had expelled the Cimbri; and even their arrival was a recent event, compared with that of the Welsh Britons. Hence, though Beda might err with regard to the origin of these Britons, this would never invalidate his other origins. Indeed the origins of nations are the greatest events in history, and leave the strongest traces behind them. Beda's origin of the Angli has never been questioned. That of the Scots has, by the antiquaries of Scotland, who are the shallowest that ever disgraced a country, and instead of READING facts, persist in WRITING opinions. The grand points of history supported by all authorities, which are FACTS in all other countries, are in Scotland OPINIONS; and by a species of ignorance, which we term philosophy, we doubt of historic truth, but greedily embrace any poetical fiction. Amid the highest reverence for the literature of his country, the warmest wish *esto perpetua*; the author, sensible of his good intentions, hesitates not to point out its faults. But the origin of the Scots is reserved for especial consideration in its proper place.

Beda's account of the origin of the Piks supports, and is supported by, that of Tacitus. It follows: *Et cum plurimam insulæ partem [Britones] incipientes ab austro possedissent, contigit gentem Pictorum de Scythia, ut perhibent, longis navibus non multis, oceanum ingressam, &c.* and then they proceeded to Ireland, but not finding a settlement, went over to the north of Britain, where they settled; *Itaque petentes Britanniam Picti, habitare per septentrionales insulæ partes caperunt. Nam austrina Britones occupaverunt.* "And when the Britons, beginning from the south, had possessed the greater part of the island, it happened that the nation of the Piks, entering the ocean

from Scythia, as is reported, in not many large ships," came to Ireland, where finding no settlement, they went over to North Britain; "Therefore the Piks going to Britain, began to inhabit the northern parts of the island. For the Britons had seized the south."

The SCYTHIA of Beda is the GERMANY of Tacitus. The latter includes the nations of Scandinavia among the Germans; and Scythia had by Jornandes, 200 years before Beda, been a name given to Scandinavia: as indeed the Greeks had, 400 years before Christ, called Germany Scythia, and especially the north of it, as may be seen in the Dissertation annexed. But to give the reader full satisfaction on this point, let us examine it here a little.

The error of Jornandes did not consist in calling Scandinavia, Scythia; for nothing is more certain, as shewn in the Dissertation, than that the Germans and Scandinavians were Scythians. But it lay in supposing Scandinavia the most ancient Scythia, from which all the Scythians proceeded. Jornandes tells, that the Scythians, or Goths, went from Scandinavia, his ancient Scythia, in three ships, under King Bering; an event which, according to him, must have happened four thousand years before Christ; for he after proceeds to state their progress to Little Scythia, on the Euxine, and their expedition against Vexores, king of Egypt. This tale of Jornandes is in flat contradiction to Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancients; and is so unfounded that it confutes itself. The three ships; the one that lagged behind, whence the nation of Gepidæ, or Loiterers; their arrival at Owin, in the north of Germany, where, by the falling of a bridge, a part were left, and the noise of their cattle heard to this day; are all circumstances that would disgrace one of Mother Goose's Tales. Yet has this weak fable overturned the whole history of Europe! I beg pardon of Jornandes; it is not his

tale, but a gross misconception of it, which has had such important effects ! A gross misconception, which has passed current among the most able writers, and at this hour stains the pages of Montesquieu, and other famous men !

O cæcas hominum mentes ! O pectora cæca !

This misconception lies in supposing that Jornandes brings the Goths from Scandinavia, about 200 years after Christ, as their name appears in Roman history about 250. Jornandes, ignorant as he was, well knew that, by the consent of all antiquity, the Scythians, Getæ, and Goths, were one and the same people ; and he always uses these words synonymously ; and he never even dreamed of the Goths being a late colony from Scandinavia, as above shewn. Hence this gross error lies totally with our modern *celeberrimi*, and not with Jornandes.

But the fact is, as amply detailed in the Dissertation annexed, that the Scythians, otherwise called Getæ, or Goths, proceeded from modern Persia upward, over the river Araxes, in Armenia, and the mountains of Caucasus, into Little or Ancient Scythia, on the Euxine. Thence they spread into Thrace, Greece, Illyricum, Dacia, Germany, Scandinavia. From Scandinavia they proceeded to Scotland, Jutland, and the Danish isles. From Germany, to Gaul, and Spain, and Italy ; and form at this day almost the whole inhabitants of Europe, the few Celts in the British isles, the Fins of Lapland, Finland, and Hungary, and the Sarmatians of Russia and Poland, being the sole exceptions. Herodotus knew the Germans by no other name or distinction, but as Scythians. Timæus, and other ancient writers, quoted by Pliny, call the north of Germany, Scythia. But Jornandes, being a writer much admired in the middle ages, was followed by Isidorus, Beda, Paulus

Diaconus, &c. and it is from him that we must date their ascription of the name of Scythia to Scandinavia. The old geographer of Ravenna, who, according to Gronovius, wrote in the eighth century, says, Book V. p. 106. *edit. Gronov. 1696, 8vo. In ipso autem oceano septentrionali est insula quæ dicitur Scanza, quæ et Antiqua Scythia a plurimis cosmographis appellatur.* “In the Northern Ocean is an island called Scanza,” (a name always given by Jornandes, &c. to Scandinavia) “which is also called Ancient Scythia by many cosmographers.” Even so late as the tenth century Audradus Modicus calls the Normans, who ravaged France in his time, SCYTHÆ: *apud Duchesne Script. Franc. Tom. II. p. 361.* Nay, our Fordun, Lib. I. c. 5. describes Scythia as bounded by the Baltic; and c. 30, 31, says the Piks came from it. And the name was generally used; for Anastasius Sinaita, a writer of the ninth age, says, Σκυθίαν δὲ εἰωθασὶ καλεῖν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ κλίμα ἅπαν τὸ Βορρεῖον, ἐνθα οἰσὶν οἱ Γότθοι καὶ Δανεῖς: “The ancients are accustomed to call all the northern region Scythia, where are the Goths and Danes.” But not to insist further on a point so well known to the learned, let us proceed to state other evidences that the Piks came from Scandinavia, though the above be fully sufficient, and any further proof be a work of supererogation.

Nennius wrote his history of the Britons, or rather wild declamation concerning them, in 858, as appears from his work (*pref. ch. 1. and 11. &c.*) and sent it to Samuel, his friend, who made many alterations on it. But as we know not whether Nennius, or Samuel, was the weaker writer, it is absurd to imagine with Bertram, his last editor, that Samuel was, and that the weakest passages are his; while they seem to have been perfectly matched, so that the whole work may be taken in the mass and quoted as written by Nennius and Samuel. The book has, however, its

value, as shewing the traditions and opinions of the Welsh at the time it was written; and though, compared to a Gothic Saga, it be as the dream of the sick compared to the dream of a sound mind, it has however been quoted by the most severe writers. Nennius and Samuel, in their fifth chapter, after narrating the arrival of the Britons, and before telling that of the Scots into Ireland from Spain, say, that 900 years after the time of Heli the priest, mentioned in ch. 4. and who lived 1200 years before Christ, that is, three hundred years before Christ, the Piks came to the Orkneys. Whence they seized all the north part of Britain, amounting to one third; and “hold it to this day:” that is, in 858, or just fifteen years after the Celtic dunces, who were the fathers of our history, tell that Kenneth, who in fact merely acceded to the Pikish throne, as shall be shewn after, had conquered the Piks seven times in one day, and inviting that whole great nation to an entertainment, had killed them all—and devoured them! But take the words of Nennius and Samuel. *Post intervallum annorum multorum, non minus DCCCC, Picti venerunt, et occupaverunt insulas quæ Orcades vocantur. Et postea ex insulis affinitimis vastaverunt non modicas et multas regiones; occupaveruntque eas in sinistrâli plaga Britannicæ, et manent usque in hodiernum diem. Ibi tertiam partem Britannicæ tenuerunt; et tenent usque nunc.* “After an interval of many years, not less than nine hundred” [from the time of Eli,] “the Piks came, and possessed the islands called Orkneys. And after from the neighbouring isles” [the Hebudes] “they ravaged many large regions; and seized on those in the LEFT part of Britain, and remain to this day. There they held the third part of Britain, and hold it at present.” The word *sinistrâli*, or *left*, means the north; a term which would readily occur

to a priest who turns his face to the east.¹ The whole passage accords with Beda. The Piks coming from Norway seized on the Orkneys; thence went to Ireland, the usual course of the Norwegian invaders, but finding no settlement, returned to the Hebrides, where they fixt the first seat of their dominion; and where Solinus, about 250, describes their monarchy. Thence they invaded and seized all Scotland by degrees.

The Saxon Chronicle, written in the eleventh century, says, that the Piks came from *rupan of Scythian, Suthan of Scitthian*, "south of Scythia." That is, the south of Scandinavia, where Vika lay, as above shewn.

The whole ancient English historians, who mention the origin of the Piks, say they came from Scythia, or Scandinavia. It is needless to crowd these pages with their expressions, while the reader can so easily satisfy himself, if he doubts.

Geofrey of Monmouth, though a Celtic writer, and a fabulist, yet in so grand and known a point must have followed the traditional opinion of his country. He dates the first arrival of the Piks in the time of Vespasian; and says, *quidam rex Pictorum vocabulo Rodric, de Scythia cum magna classe veniens, applicuit in aquilonarem partem Britanniae*. Lib. IV. c. 17. A second arrival Geofrey places in the time of Severus, when one Fulgenius passing to Scythia, (*transfretantem in Scythiam*) brought assistance from the Piks, and settled them in the north of Britain. A third arrival, under Gratian and Valentinian, is mentioned by an old author of an *Eulogium Britanniae*, quoted

¹ Nennius uses the same phrase in different places, as c. 61. and c. 64. he says: "Ida filius Eobbæ tenuit regiones in sinistrali parte Humbri." He is speaking of Ida, first king of Northumberland.

by Usher,¹ who says, *Gratianus et Valentinianus, fratres et imperii consortes, gentem Gothicam Pictorum, in rebus bellicis fortem et strenuam, beneficiis et blanditiis allectam, a Scythiæ finibus ad Britanniam direxerunt. At Britones inermes, et omni militia nudati, a Pictis suppeditantur, sic quod Picti accolæ facti sunt in parte Britannicæ aquilonari.* “Gratian and Valentinian, brothers and joint emperors, brought the Gothic nation of the Piks (bold and vigorous in war, and won by benefits and promises) from the country of Scythia into Britain. But the Britons, unarmed and destitute of discipline, are supplanted by the Piks, so that the Piks became their neighbours in the northern part of Britain.” And Giraldus Cambrensis, *de Institutione Principis*, Lib. I.² says, *Cum Maximus tyrannus de Britannia in Galliam, cum robore virorum et virium, necnon et armorum, insulæ toto, ad occupandum Imperium transvectus fuisset, Gratianus et Valentinianus, fratres Imperiique consortes, gentem Gothicam, in rebus bellicis fortem ac strenuam, sibi quoque vel confæderatam, vel subjectam, et imperialibus beneficiis obstrictam, a Scythiæ finibus, in aquilonares Britannicæ partes, ad Britones infestandum, et tyrannum cum juventute revocandum, navigio transmiserunt. Illi vero, tum quoniam pro innata Gothorum bellicositate prævalidi fuerunt, tum quoniam insulam viris ac viribus vacuam invenerunt, Boreales ejusdem partes, ac provincias non modicas, ex prædonibus accolæ facti sibi usurpatas occupaverunt.* “When Maximus the tyrant had passed from Britain into Gaul, with

¹ *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, Cap. XV. p. 308, Edit. London. 1687, fol.

² *Ibid.* This work of Giraldus is a very scarce MS. One is in the Cotton Library, Julius, B. XIII. and this passage may be found literatim, Lib. I. c. 18. *De Principum electorum tam vita laudabili quam fine*, f. v. 50: where, in giving brief lives of Roman emperors, he mentions the origin of the Piks and Scots, when they first appear in Roman history.

the whole force of men, strength and arms of the island, in order to seize on the empire, Gratian and Valentinian, brothers and joint emperors, transmitted in ships a Gothic nation, strong and vigorous in war, and either confederate with, or subject to them, and bound by their imperial benefits, from the territory of Scythia, into the northern parts of Britain, to infest the Britons, and cause the tyrant to return with his young army. But they, as well because that they were very powerful from the innate warlike spirit of the Goths, as by reason they found the island empty of men and strength, from ravagers became inhabitants; and usurping the northern parts, and no small provinces, held them to themselves."

As we have Tacitus and Beda, writers unknown to the Welsh fablers, we know that the periods above fixt are absolutely false. 1. That the Piks could not come in the time of Vespasian, we know from Tacitus and Ptolemy. 2. That they did not come in that of Severus, from Dio and Herodian, who still found the same Caledonii in Scotland, that Tacitus and Ptolemy had. 3. That they came not under Gratian and Valentinian, or after 375, when these emperors began to reign, is clear from Eumenius, who mentions Constantius in 306, as having pervaded *Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum sylvas*, "the woods of the Caledonians, and other Piks." Indeed no one would ever think of setting these Welsh fablers against Tacitus and Beda, or even against Nennius and Samuel, their countrymen, but older by three whole centuries, and which last assert the Piks to have been here 300 years before Christ. But not to insist on a point where no difficulty occurs, it is well known to be quite another matter to know a FACT, and to know the *date* of it. The Northern Sagas, and earliest Histories, are infallibly right that the Goths came from Scythia on the Tanais; but when they date this in the time of Pom-

pey, as Snorro does, they only excite ridicule ; for we know that the Goths could not, as they tell, pass through all Germany, and go into Scandinavia by Jutland and Zeeland, while Cæsar was at that very time warring in Germany, yet knew nothing of so enormous an event. Chronology is always deficient among barbarous nations ; and in traditional history it is always confused. Nennius tells us that in his time the Welsh had not one historian ;¹ and how Geofrey and Giraldus, who wrote about 1150, three centuries after Nennius, could discover these pretended settlements of the Piks, save by a *special revelation*, is humbly submitted to the reader's judgment. But that the Piks were Goths from Scandinavia, is clear from Tacitus and Beda ; and that Geofrey and Giraldus knew this great fact, though they erred in the date, is no wonder. Facts remain while dates perish.

The countries nearest Scotland, and whose writers had of course the best opportunity to mark the origin of the Piks, are Norway and Denmark on the east, Iceland on the north, Ireland on the west, and England and Wales on the south. The writers of Norway, Denmark, and Iceland, are silent as to the event of the Piks passing to Scotland ; just as Saxo and others are silent as to the Jutes and Angles passing to England. But from them we fully trace the Piks in Norway, as above shewn. The English and Welsh writers are decided that the Piks came from Scandinavia, as before specified ; and so are the Irish, as shall be stated. When all authorities thus agree, and every argument from reason supports them ; he must be a visionary, who would advance the theories of

¹ Sed quoniam utcunque historiographum Britannorum me malo esse quam *neminem*. Præf. Ego Nennius, Sancti Elbodi discipulus, aliqua excerpta scribere curavi, quæ hebetudo gentis Britanniae dejecerat ; quia nullam peritiam habuerunt, neque ullam commemorationem in libris posuerunt, doctores illius insulæ Britanniae. *Init. op.*

Camden, Lloyd, and Innes (certainly not profound writers,) against a fact positive even to mathematical truth, or at least to a degree which no fact whatever in ancient history can exceed: for no fact of Greek or Roman history is supported by numerous testimonies of neighbouring nations as this is.

O Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*, Part III. ch. 18. treats *Pictorum in Hiberniam, et inde in Britanniam, migratio*. "The Migration of the Piks into Ireland, and thence to Britain." His authority is nothing. It is that of the ancient writers, whom he and other Irish antiquaries quote, that merits regard. These say that the Piks came from Denmark and Norway to Ireland, where finding no settlement, they went over to North Britain. The whole Irish Annals that mention the Pikish origin, and in particular the book of Lecan, place the arrival of the Piks in the reign of Heremon, the founder of the Milesian race; that is, as they dream, thirteen hundred years before Christ. This shews however that in Ireland, which was in the time of Beda remarkable for such learning as then existed, it was well known that the Piks had come to Scotland at a most remote and ancient period.

It is unnecessary to add any more authorities. Suffice it to say, that EVERY writer who mentions the origin of the Piks till 1707, when Lloyd's *Archæologia* appeared, derives them from Scandinavia, *excepting Camden alone*. Camden applied to some very ignorant Welshman, as appears from his papers in the *Musæum*,¹ for etymologies and hints for his *Britannia*. Humphrey Lluyd, though much too learned to make the Piks Welsh, had yet by his *Commentariolum*, printed about 1570, introduced a ridiculous desire among his countrymen of making eminent men, and nations, of antiquity, Welsh. Brennus and his German Gauls

¹ Cotton Lib. Julius, F. X.

are with him all Welsh of Wales, with other such anility. Hence this Cambrian counsellor of Camden, being so ignorant as not even to suspect the blaze of evidence against him, thought he would also try his hand, and make some more Welsh; so seized on Galgacus and the Piks, and threw them into his Welsh mould. But Camden, who was himself far from versed in such subjects, seems to have met his Welsh adjutant half way; for some arguments, he details, seem to be from his own store. It appears from his work, that he clearly saw the Caledonians and Piks were all one, which it indeed required no penetration to discover; he also knew that the Caledonians were Britons—here was the rub! He forgot that he was himself a Briton; and yet was no Welshman. Had he acutely studied Cæsar, he might have learned that the Belgæ, who possessed half of present England, when Cæsar came, were Britons, and yet were not Welsh, but real Goths of Germany; or, if you please, real Englishmen, being as much English as the Saxons. But the *arguments* that the Piks were Welsh being already shewn in the preceding Section to be absurd, that ground need not be trodden again. Camden is a valuable topographer, which he may well be without any pretence to learning; but with regard to the origin of nations, a subject requiring the most profound learning, his knowledge was most imperfect, and is the object of contempt to his learned countrymen, Usher, Stillingfleet, Sheringham, and others.

At length the eighteenth century, fatal to real and solid literature, was to arise. A century in which learning, the grand foundation of philosophy among the ancients, began to be despised; and ignorance was called philosophy. Now and not before, among other great discoveries, were the whole nations of Europe to be Celts; and the Piks to be Welsh, Irish, or what you will. That the Piks were Welsh, is sup-

ported by the names of Lloyd, Innes, Guthrie, Hume, Whitaker, &c. and within these ten years that they were Gael, or Irish, by those of that *par nobile* the Macphersons, of Henry, and I tremble to say Gibbon, which last, instead of bestowing even the slightest examination on the subject, has been led by the Macphersons, whose little local designs his large mind could not even suspect. Such is the progressive decline of literature! To such heights will ignorance arrive! But since printing is invented, the materials of science cannot be lost, though science itself may: and it may safely be prophesied that learning, as it ebbs in one century, may flow in another. As it is observed that the darkness of night is always thickest just before the dawn springs, such is it to be hoped will be the case here.

CHAPTER IV.

Epoch of the Pikish Settlement in Scotland.

THE time when the Piks first settled in present Scotland well deserves a separate consideration. Chronology is the latest improvement of history ; and is never to be expected among uncivilized nations. Yet of the period of the great event now considered there are many marks.

From the Dissertation, at the end of this work, it will appear that the Goths had peopled Germany and Scandinavia about 500 years before our era. Being a progeny whose sole trade was war, their inroads upon their neighbours were perpetual ; and their progress, from their superiority in arms, continuous. The settlements of the Belgæ, and other German nations in Gaul, cannot be dated later than 400 years before Christ ; for in Cæsar's time we find them spread from Belgic Gaul over a great part of Britain, and so effectually fixt as to be warring among themselves, the Cimbri, their old enemies, being driven to the north and west. Not less than 150 years can, in the course of human affairs, be allowed for so ample and complete a settlement as this of the Belgæ in Britain ; and Cæsar gives no hint that it was a recent affair. So that it may safely be supposed that the Belgæ, the real ancestors of three quarters of the present English, were settled in the south and east coasts at least 200 years before Christ ; and began these settlements about 300 years before Christ.

The Peukini, Peolhtar, Pihtar, Vichar, or Piks, were, as would appear, also settled in Scandinavia at least 500 years before our era. From thence their only two ancient migrations were into Scotland and Denmark. It is a matter of curious consideration which of these colonies preceded in order of time. From the greater vicinity of Denmark, it might reasonably be inferred that it was held by the earliest colony. But there are facts which weigh against this opinion; and human affairs by no means proceed in formal order.

The Cimbri, or Cimmerii, ancient Celtic inhabitants of Germany, and who spread from the Bosphorus Cimmerius on the Euxine, north to about Moscow in Russia; and west to the Chersonesus Cimmerius, or Jutland, and to Britain, where the Cumri, or Welsh, still retain their name, as the aboriginal Irish do that of Gael, or Gaulic Celts, these Cimbri proceeded into Italy 102 years before Christ. They had been expelled from the north-west of Germany, not by incroachments of the sea, as Plutarch fables, but by invasion of that Gothic ocean of men, which overwhelmed all Europe. Tacitus found only a few remains of them at the south-west extremity of Jutland. All around were German nations, who, if we do not reject all authorities and facts, were Goths; while the Cimbri, if we follow not the same plan, were Celts. These small remains shew that the Cimbri were expelled; for had they left their country from excess of population, as the Gothic nations did, that population could not have totally failed in two centuries. That they were driven out by a nation from the north, has been already shewn; and that this nation was the Piks, who seizing their possessions became the Vits of Vitland, now Jutland, and of Vitslett, or the Danish isles. That the Jutes and Danes came from Scandinavia, has also been shewn to be clear from

that infallible mark, their language, which is the Scandinavian dialect of the Gothic, and not the German dialect of that tongue. Now Plutarch and other ancients describe the progress of the Cimbri into Gaul, and their attacks of Spain and Italy, as events of rapid succession; and not more than ten years can be allowed for the whole. So that the expulsion of the Cimbri from Denmark could not take place more than 112 years before Christ.

Far other was the case with the Pikish population of Scotland. There was indeed a wider sea between Scandinavia and Scotland, than between Scandinavia and Jutland. But, on the other hand, to pass this sea was a matter so easy even to barbarians, that Indians in their canoes have peopled regions twice as distant; and to this day the savage Greenlanders in their skiffs have come even from Greenland to the Shetland and Orkney isles, a course of at least six hundred miles further than that between the south of Norway and Scotland, which exceeds not two hundred and fifty miles.¹ Tacitus² also informs us that the Suiones, who were really the Piks of Vitslet, called Suiones, or Zeewoners, by their southern neighbours, the Germans, because they *dwelled* in the *sea* (as islanders,) were remarkable for navigation, having FLEETS, an advantage quite unknown to the other German and Scandinavian states. And these fleets were of SHIPS, *navium*, which Tacitus thus describes. “The form of the ships differs from ours, because that a prow at

¹ It is also probable, that there were anciently sundry isles between Norway and Scotland, though now swallowed up. The *Sarorum Insulæ* of Ptolemy are lost: and *Helgoland*, an island in the same parts, was, a few centuries ago, reduced to one quarter of its ancient size. See Bleau’s Atlas, for a map of ancient and modern Helgoland. If the Piks coasted along the shore of Norway northward, and then passed over to the Shetland isles, the passage is not above 150 miles.

² Germania, *prope fin.*

either end makes landing always easy. They have no sails, nor are the oars ranged in order on the sides. The vessel is of free construction, as used on some rivers ; and may be steered to whatever point is necessary." This shews to a certainty, that navigation was not only known to these Scandinavians, but had arrived at such perfection, that Tacitus talks of their SHIPS, and compares them with the Roman. A passage of 250 miles in open sea was certainly no great enterprize to the dauntless courage of that people. In later times we find them in vessels, perhaps neither larger nor more artificial, ravaging England, Ireland, and France ; nay, discovering Iceland and Greenland, and Vinland, or a part of North America.¹ Their invasion of Scotland had none of these difficulties to be found in that of Denmark. In Denmark the Cimbri were compressed, and crowded to a point, and very numerous. In Scotland the population was loose, and vague, as usual among the Celts, a pastoral people. In Denmark the Cimbri were confined, and bold from despair. In Scotland they had free egress to their brethren in the south, and to Ireland. In Scotland there were no Suevi, no northern Germans, "to whom the gods were not equal,"² to awe the Piks from an invasion of territories contiguous to their own, and marked as their prey.

I have all along considered the passage of the Piks from Norway to the Orkneys as the sole point worth consideration in this progress ; and every reader will, it is believed, regard it in the same light. For the *coasting* voyage from the Orkneys to Ireland and the

¹ See the *Vinlandia Antiqua* of Torfæus, 1705, 8vo. and *Northern Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 280. It was part of Canada, or of Newfoundland, and discovered, in the year 1001, by Heriol and Biarn, Icelanders.

² Cæsar, *Bell. Gall. Lib. IV.* where the southern Germans say, "sese unis Suevis concedere, quibus ne dii quidem immortales pares esse possint."

Hebudes was nothing even to an Indian canoe. The Romans thought it a serious affair to pass from Gaul to Britain; yet their fleet, during Agricola's campaigns, coasted all round Britain, and first discovered it to be an island, as Tacitus shews. And they after ventured into the Zuyder Zee and the Baltic. But *coasting* voyages of great length are easily performed, even by the most barbaric navigation: and there is no occasion to explain the causes of a matter so well known and obvious. The passage from Norway to the Orkneys was the only difficulty; and that ceased to be a difficulty to people so skilled in navigation as in the time of Tacitus to have fleets of ships. Hence there can be no hesitation in believing that the Piks proceeded to Scotland near two centuries before they were so bold as to seize on Denmark; while indeed we have direct authorities that such was the case. And there are also collateral proofs, that the Cimbri must have been driven out of Scotland (north of Loch Fyn, and Tay), sooner than out of Denmark, for Tacitus found remains of the Cimbri in the south of present Denmark; and the Danish histories are full of the Cimbri, who, according to them, were conquered by the Goths about the time of Pompey; while in Scotland, north of the above bounds, we should not have known that the Cimbri ever dwelled, save by a few Cumraig names of rivers, mountains, and stations of old Cimbric towns. But that the Piks did not possess Denmark till about 112 years before Christ, has been shewn above; and that they held Scotland at least 200 years before Christ, will appear from the following discussion.

Tacitus is the first who mentions the people of Caledonia, or Piks; and though he says they were certainly of Germany, he drops no hint as to the time of their passage. Eumenius, the Panegyrist,

says, that before the time of Julius Cæsar the Piks were the accustomed enemies of the Britons. He uses the term Britons in the then acceptation of the word, for the Cumraig Britons, those whom Cæsar thought born in the island. For the Piks were quite unknown to the Romans, save in Britain. Hence Eumenius is a witness that the Piks were settled in the north of Britain before the time of Julius Cæsar.

Beda dates the settlement of the Piks in Britain, as coeval with what he thought its first habitation by the Cumraig Britons: and he tells us in express terms, that they were the first inhabitants of the northern parts. The Cumri seem to have possessed Britain 1000 years before Christ; and, by Beda's account, the Piks did as anciently. But Beda, speaking of the passage of the Britons from Armorica, seems rather to allude to the Belgic Britons; who were in fact coeval with the Piks in their possessions, both coming in, as would seem, between 300 and 200 years before our era.

Nennius and Samuel report, from British tradition, that the Piks came to the Orkneys 900 years after Eli, who lived 1200 years before Christ; that is, THREE HUNDRED years before our era. Abandoning the Orkneys, which Solinus mentions as uninhabited even in his time, or 250 years after Christ, they passed to Ireland; then stood over to the Hebud isles, their first possession here, and in time the early seat of their kingdom. These are the *neighbouring isles* of Nennius, whence he tells us the Piks ravaged and seized on all the northern part of Britain, amounting to one third. For this large conquest of a hilly country full of recesses, and consequent population of it, we cannot allow less than a century: and the Piks may be regarded as inhabitants of all the country north of Loch Fyn and Tay, about 200 years before Christ.

The Irish Annals, above quoted, date the first king of the Piks as early as the time of Heremon ; or, as they dream, 1300 years before our era. But their settlement preceded this first king a long time ; and the Pikish kings, down to 400 years after Christ, were merely princes of the Hebud isles, as after to be mentioned.

From these circumstances, and especially from the direct authority of Nennius and Samuel, the settlement of the Piks in the Hebud isles may be dated, with as great certainty as any event in the earliest Greek or Roman history, at 300 years before Christ. And their possession of all Scotland north of Fyn and Tay, at a century after, or 200 years before our era. If you date this event later, you will find Eumenius, Beda, Nennius, and the Irish Annals, against you. If earlier, you will interfere with the Gothic progress, detailed in the Dissertation added. While, with the date here assigned, all authorities and circumstances agree.

When the English history becomes studied by English writers, and it is universally perceived that the Belgæ, a Gothic people, who fought in this isle against Julius Cæsar, are the real ancestors of three quarters of the present English, it may prove a national question, whether the Belgæ, or Piks, were the first Goths who took possession of Britain. This question might be agitated for ever, for it is absolutely impossible to decide it. It may be asserted, that the Piks preceded the Belgæ, because the latter were a colony of a colony, sent into Gaul from Germany ; while the former passed as a direct colony from Scandinavia. It may be asserted, that the Belgæ preceded the Piks, because the latter had to cross a wide sea, the former only the Straits of Dover. For my part, who as a British subject wish equally well to the glory of all the three kingdoms, I shall content

myself with observing that the point can never be determined, so that controversy on it is absolutely useless : and that all authorities, facts, and reason, warrant us to believe, that the Belgæ entered the south, and the Piks the north of Britain, about one and the same time.

CHAPTER V.

Province of Vespasiana.

THIS province rests entirely upon the authority of Richard of Cirencester, a writer of the fourteenth century; not one trace of it being to be found in any other author, till after his book was published, in 1757. It would seem from his accounts to have been founded after the victories of Lollius Urbicus, and the erection of the wall of Antoninus, about the year 140; and Richard specially mentions that it was lost in the year 170, which was in the time of Marcus Antoninus. His predecessor Pius, in whose reign it was acquired, appears to have given it the name of Vespasiana, from the emperor, to whose reign Agricola was indebted for his glory, in first subduing it.

Richard hints^{*} that it was called Vespasiana from that emperor, who brought the Flavian family to the Roman throne; and that it received that name in Domitian's time. But that Agricola founded this province seems improbable; for Richard, whose authority is all we have for its existence, says expressly, it was lost in 170; and Hadrian built his wall, between Solway and Tyne, about 120, and would certainly have built it between Clyde and Forth at least, had Vespasiana been then subject to Rome. Richard

^{*} P. 31. Hæc provincia dicta est in honorem familiæ Flaviæ, cui suam Domitianus Imperator originem debuit, et sub quo expugnata, Vespasiana.

also repeatedly mentions the very short time that this province was subject to Rome. Had Agricola founded it about the year 80, it must have existed 90 years, no short space; whereas 30 years seem the most that can be allowed.

Tacitus is also a clear witness against Vespasiana being founded by Agricola, for he says, *perdomita Britannia, et statim missa*,¹ that Britain was conquered, and INSTANTLY given over. For after Bolanus, in Domitian's time, we find no hint concerning Britain, till Hadrian withdrew the boundary.

This province Vespasiana, according to Richard, stretched north from the Forth and Clyde up to Linnhe Loch and Loch Ness, or that line upon which Forts William, Augustus, and George, now stand. In it were the nations *Horestii* of Fife; *Vecturones*, or *Venricones*, beyond the Tay, or in Perth and Angus; *Taixali* of Aberdeenshire; *Vacomagi* of Murray, and a part of Inverness; *Damnii Albani* and *Attacotti* of Argyleshire. Richard's geography has no chronology; and the times of Agricola and Theodosius are all confounded by him; hence the Attacotti, unknown to Ptolemy, or the Roman writers, till a late period, and who actually came from Ireland, about 258, as after shewn, are foisted in here.

The towns of *Horestii*, by Richard's account, were *Alauna*, *Lindum*, and *Victoria*. The *Vecturones*, or *Venricones*, had *Orrea*, and two rivers, *Æsica* and *Tina*. The *Taixali* had *Divana*, and the rivers *Devo* and *Ituna*. The *Vacomagi*, a large nation, had three towns, *Tuessis*, *Tamea*, and *Banatia*, with *Ptoroton*, perhaps now Inverness, the metropolis of the province; their rivers, *Varar*, *Tuesis*, and *Celnus*. The

¹ Hist. Lib. I. *init.* Turbatum Illyricum: Galliae nutantes: perdomita Britannia, et statim missa: coortæ in nos Sarmatarum ac Suevorum gentes. Edit. Brotier, who remarks, *Ab Agricola perdomita, mox omissa et neglecta.*

Attacotti had *Theodosia*, or *Alcluith*, built by *Theodosius*; which last is a palpable error, for *Alcluith*, or *Theodosia*, was in *Valentia*.

Richard also gives an itinerary of this province, thus: ITER. IX. *A Luguballio Ptorotonim usque, sic*: Trimontio, *m. p.* . . . *Gadanica, m. p.* . . . *Corio, m. p.* *ad Vallum, m. p.* . . . *Incipit Vespasiana.* *Alauna, m. p.* XII. *Lindo IX.* *Victoria IX.* *ad Hiernam IX.* *Orrea XIV.* *ad Tavum XIX.* *ad Æsiscam XXIII.* *ad Tinum VIII.* *Devana XXIII.* *ad Itunam XXIV.* *ad montem Grampium, m. p.* . . . *ad Silinam, m. p.* . . . *Tuessus XIX.* *Ptorotone, m. p.*

ITER. X. *Ab ultima Ptorotone per mediam insulæ Isca Damnonorum usque, sic*: *Varis, m. p.* VIII. *ad Tuessim XVIII.* *Tamea XXIX.* * * * *m. p.* XXI. *in Medio IX.* *Orrea IX.* *Victoria XVIII.* *ad Vallum XXXII.* *Luguballia LXXX.* &c.

This new province is the most prominent and remarkable part of Richard's book. To trust an author of the fourteenth century for so great an affair, seems rash. Yet two thirds of his work we know to be true, from Ptolemy and other ancients; and the Itinerary, he says, is from the memorials of a Roman Dux, or governor of Britain. Certain it is, that his accounts quadrate amazingly, and bear every mark of truth. The few names he gives of rivers, &c. not in Ptolemy, often resemble the present names; yet are so truly latinized, that Roman mouths alone seem able to have formed them. This province of *Vespasiana* is repeatedly mentioned, upon many occasions, in the course of his work, beside the special description he gives of it.

Had such a province existed for 90 years, as Richard seems to insinuate, many Roman inscriptions, coins, &c. must at this day be found in its limits. But, as mentioned above, 30 years seem to have formed its real duration. Yet even from that space in-

scriptions and coins may be expected. Ptorotone, or Inverness, the capital of the province, must in that case have many Roman remains. Urns of Roman coins have been found in the north of Scotland; but these may have been carried off in booty by the Piks. Roman inscriptions, roads, and remains of buildings, are what we must look for, as confirmations of the province of Vespasiana.

Arthur's Oven, which Horseley plausibly thinks a sepulchre, stood about ten miles beyond the wall of Antoninus. The author of an old map, in the *Addimenta* to Matthew Paris, says the great Roman way went to Caithness,¹ a vague name for the northern parts of Scotland. If my memory serves me, one Roman inscription was found in Stirlingshire; though I cannot say where I found this information. Chance may befriend us afterward, and a peasant digging a ditch may discover a Roman province. Mr Nimmo, in his *History of Stirlingshire*, describes the great Roman way running through that shire, and north to Strathern. If it can be traced to Inverness, it will be an INFALLIBLE confirmation of the province of Vespasiana; for such ways were never made, save in the provinces, as it would have been indeed madness to attempt such a vast labour as a Roman military road in an enemy's country, and impossible to accomplish it. As the case stands, though not willing to lend credit to Richard implicitly, yet I confess even this Roman road to the Tay is with me a full and complete confirmation of Richard's account; for a Roman road was never made, save in a Roman province. And it was of course the first care, in order to facilitate intercourse, and keep the province in order. A military way can be traced through Trajan's province of Dacia, up to its furthest extremity; but beyond a province no road was ever made: and the idea would have been

¹ See it published in Mr Gough's *British Topography*.

absurd, as it would have been to incur great danger and expence—to serve the enemy; not to add, that it was utterly impracticable.

This Roman road passes from Castlecary, on the wall of Antoninus (along which wall a similar road runs,) north to Stirling town, about sixteen English miles. From thence it goes north by Keir to Dunblane; and thence on to Strathern, beyond which Mr Nimmo says nothing of its progress, as not being examined by him. But this course cannot be less than 30 miles. Mr Nimmo describes this great road as consisting of several layers of stone and earth, which seem to have been thrown upon one another as they came to hand, for the stones are of all dimensions. It is generally about twelve feet in breadth; and its foundation is so deep, that, in the formation of it, they seem first to have digged a ditch, which they filled up again with stones and earth, till they raised it at least a foot above the surface. It always rises in the middle, and slopes toward the edges; and on each side, especially where the ground is marshy, there has been a small ditch, or drain, to keep the work dry: so that at present, when it is all covered with grass, it has much the resemblance of a ridge that has lain long unploughed. The stones of the uppermost layer are generally of so large a size, that, unless it was always well covered with gravel, it must have been very inconvenient to travel on. Its direction is as straight as the nature of the ground, through which it passes, will permit.

Another part of this Roman way still further north, and in the shire of Angus, is described, and illustrated with a map, in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannia*, No. XXXVI. London, 1786, 4to. This part is seen about three miles north-east of Forfar, and there are two Roman camps on it, at about eight miles distance from each other. Roman granaries were also found

lately on the estate of Lundie, a few miles north-east of Dundee : and granaries certainly could not be erected but in a province.

General Roy ' says, the Roman way ends at Reedy ; but he suspects that vestiges of it may be discovered further north ; and he mentions that the people of the country think it extends to Aberdeen.

Till it can be shewn that a Roman road was ever made, save in a Roman province, we have therefore absolute proof of the province of Vespasiana ; and the historian of Scotland will do well to mark its commencement about the year 140, and its termination in 170. It does honour to the military prowess of the Piks, that this province had the shortest duration of any ever held by the Romans.

Though this province was so soon abandoned, yet the Romans repeatedly visited this part of Britain. Our antiquists fondly ascribe all Roman remains in it to Agricola, though this be nearly as ridiculous as

* Roman Antiquities in North Britain, MS. in the King's Library. Other proofs of this province may be drawn from that valuable work. Roman coins, he says, are often found at Nairn, which is in the northern extremity of Vespasiana ; as were also a Roman sword and spear. Fortingal, in Glenlyon, Braidalbin, is well known to be a Roman fort, not a camp. At Ardoch is a fine Roman station, which the general thinks *Lindum*. Inch Tuthill, on the Tay, is another, very remarkable and beautiful, which may be *In Medio*. Gordon also, *Itin. Septen.* mentions an urn and Roman coins found near Glamis, Strathmore ; nay, some on the Boyne, p. 186. Maitland, *Hist. Scotl.* p. 149, tells us, that a Roman bath was found at Delvin, a Roman station on the east side of Tay ; and mentions, p. 214, a Roman way from Fortingal toward Loch Tay. He also gives an inscription found at Ardoch, and preserved at Drummond castle, *Anionius Damionis cohortis primæ Hispanorum stipendiorum xxvii. Hæredes fieri curarunt.* Horseley, p. 206, gives an inscription on a rock upon the north side of Stirling castle, apparently Roman, though copied by some ignorant hand. Sir J. Dalrymple, *Remarks on Camden*, p. 181, mentions a fine marble vessel, curiously engraved, and full of Roman coins, being found at Bean-castle, near Nairn, 1460. Nairn may be the *Castra Alata*.

it would be to impute those in Valentia to him. He was rather the first discoverer of Vespasiana, than the conqueror. In Valentia appeared Agricola, Bolanus, Lucullus, Hadrian, Lollius, Urbicus, Marcellus,¹ Pertinax, Severus, Geta, Caracalla, Constantius Chlorus, Constantine I. Constans, Theodosius, Gallio : and, except distinguished by inscriptions, no sober antiquary will say to which of these must be ascribed the Roman remains found in Valentia. In Vespasiana, Tacitus sufficiently marks the actions of AGRICOLA. The battle with Galgacus, General Roy thinks, was fought near Stonehaven ; and as he has travelled over Scotland with a military, as well as an antiquarian eye, great respect is due to his opinion. Agricola appears to have passed little further north ; and, as he was instantly ordered home by Domitian, there is no possibility of his having left many works behind him. BOLANUS, as we learn from Statius,² erected many works in Britain, and apparently in the north. But after this Britain was *statim missa*, as Tacitus says in his History, written about the year 110. About the year 120, Hadrian, far from keeping Vespasiana, could hardly retain Valentia ; but built his wall from Solway to Tyne. Yet about 150, when Ptolemy wrote, we find Vespasiana full of Roman towns. For these we are surely indebted to LOLLIVS URBICUS only, who, about the year 140, carried the Roman arms in Britain to a greater extent than ever ; as the wall of Antoninus, and work of Ptolemy, remain lasting proofs. To him therefore ought chiefly to be ascribed the Roman remains in Vespasiana. This province was quite lost about the year 170, in spite of the efforts of CALPHURNIUS under Marcus Antoninus. After this, Commodus thought it sufficient to keep the Mæatae

¹ Xiphilinus in *Commodo* says, Commodus sent Marcellus Ulpian to repress the Britons who had passed the wall.

² See the next chapter.

in subjection; but SEVERUS, in the years 207 and 208, advanced even to the extremity of Britain, as we learn from Dio, who says he lost 50,000 men upon this occasion.¹ After this, CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, in 306, advanced to the woods of the Caledonians, according to the Panegyrist above quoted. But there is no reason to believe that Constans, 342, Theodo-

¹ The Excerpta of Theodosius, taken from Dion, and published in the edition of the latter by Leunclavius, p. 851, say, before mentioning the battle between Severus and Albinus; "Then likewise in Britain, because the Caledonians did not keep their promise, being prepared to defend the Mæataë, and because Severus was at that time intent upon a neighbouring war, Lupus was obliged to purchase a peace of the Mæataë at a great price, some few captives being delivered up to him." This happened nine years before Severus came into Britain. He passed two years warring in Caledonia; made peace in 209. In 210 he was still in York, as appears from his famous rescript dated at York, *Faustino et Rufo Coss. Cod. Lib. III. tit. 32. l. 1.* He died at York in the beginning of February 211, as appears from Xiphilin, after a long illness. See Horsley's *Brit. Rom.*—Khell, in his *Supp. ad Num. Imp.* p. 101, gives a coin of Severus, IMP. XIII. on his Caledonian conquest, and he bears BRIT. on others.

Euseb. *Vita Const.* I. 25. says, Constantine defeated the Caledonians about 310. Fulgentius was assisted by the Caledonii. *Dion, et Eclog. Theodos.* For Constantius, in 306, see also *Gelas Cizicen. Lib. I. Acta Concilii Nicen. cap. 3.* In the time of Honorius, Victorinus restrained the Piks, as D'Anville says in his *Etats, formés apres la chute de l'Emp. R.* p. 198; but I know not upon what authority. Camden gives this inscription, *Asterius Comes Pictorum, et Syra, cum suis votum solvere.* Blondus, a respectable author about the year 1500, who had MSS. now lost, but, according to the custom of that age, quotes no authorities, tells us, that a body of Piks was incorporated into the Roman army, under Honorius, and were called *Honoriaci*; a name occurring more than once in the *Notitia*, as do *Honoriani Attacotti Juniores.* The words of Blondus are, in describing the actions of Constantine the Usurper, in the time of Honorius; "Armavit vero, immisitque in istos, (Hispanos) barbaros Pictos, qui ab Honorio, quietis ubique rebus, in fædus recepti, et in militiam Britannicam adlecti, Honoriaci vocabantur." This was in 406; and these Piks, seizing the Pyrenees, soon after invited the Vandali, Suevi, and Alani, into Spain, and shared the booty, as Blondus says. *Histor. ab inclinatione Romani Imperii, Decad. I. Lib. I. p. 12. edit. Froben. 1531, fol.*

sius, 367, or any Roman general after, advanced further than the northern wall. Which of the above was author of any particular camp, or fort, no true antiquary can venture to say. But the roads, stations, and other durable marks of a province, certainly belong to Lollius Urbicus, and his successors, founder and defenders of Vespasiana. Some of the Roman camps in Vespasiana are even crossed with others, so that they must have been held twice at distant times; as a large one at Ardoch in particular.¹

¹ Gen. Roy's MS. since published.

CHAPTER VI.

Pikish Tribes.

TACITUS is the earliest writer from whom any knowledge of this subject can be drawn. The seven years of Agricola's command in this island, were, from the accurate statement of Tacitus, thus filled. They extended, as Horsley shews, from the year of Christ 78 to 84, inclusive.

1. A. D. 78. In the autumn Agricola, though the soldiers had presumed on resting that year, (*præsumpta apud militem illius anni quies*) quashes an insurrection of the *Ordovices* (Denbigh and Carnarvon;) and subdues *Mona* (Anglesey).

2. A. D. 79. By his sudden incursions many states yielded to the terror of his arms, and gave hostages. These states were clearly those south of Forth, the *Ottadeni* and *Damnii*. Agricola tried the friths and woods; and prepared all for invading Caledonia. The winter was past in conciliating the minds of the new subjects; and teaching them the manners of Rome, as the chains of luxury are ever the strongest.

3. A. D. 80. This third year Agricola passing the Forth, laid open new nations (*novas gentes*); and ravaged all the country to the frith of Tay. Forts were built on the progress.

4. A. D. 81. To secure the new possessions, a line of forts was built between Forth and Clyde.*

* Statius, *Sylva* 2. Lib. V. has a singular passage concerning these forts. He is addressing Crispinus on the actions of his father,

5. A. D. 82. Passing with his fleets along the western shore, he subdued nations till then unknown, and fortified that part of Britain which regards Ireland. The army must have wintered at the new line of forts, between Forth and Clyde: and it appears, from the tenor of the context, that Agricola, finding there was a large tract unvisited on the west (Galloway), thought it indispensable to subdue it, ere he made further attempts on Caledonia, in order that he might leave no enemies behind him. It was natural indeed the fleet should be ordered up to the frith of Clyde, to supply the army and forts with provisions; and in this new progress they would necessarily discover modern Galloway; which would hitherto have escaped Agricola; who, in his third year, had kept to the east, and passing between Forth and Clyde, had ravaged to the Tay. These unknown states therefore were the *Selgovæ*, and *Novantæ*, who lay opposite to Ireland, and whose shores Agricola fortified.*

6. A. D. 83. The fleet was ordered round to the east, where it must have lain when the Usipii sailed round Britain. The Caledonians rising in arms, surprised an advanced camp; but were defeated.

7. A. D. 84. The grand campaign in which Gal-

“Quanta Calydonios attollet gloria campos!
Cum tibi longævus referet trucidis incola terræ:
Hic suetus dare jura parens: hoc cespite turmas
Affari. Nitidas speculas, castellaque, longe
Aspicias? Ille dedit: cinxitque hæc mænia fossa.
Belligeris hæc dona deis, hæc tela dicavit;
Cernis adhuc titulos; hunc ipse vacantibus armis
Induit, hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno.”

It would hence seem that Vectius Bolanus, father of Crispinus, warred in North Britain; and improved the forts of Agricola.

* Since writing the above, I have seen General Roy's MS. and find he agrees with me in this point. He justly observes that Argyll and Cantire are so mountainous and rocky, that no army could march, and that they have no Roman remains.

gacus was defeated at the Grampian mountains. The fleet attended Agricola along the eastern shore, as Tacitus shews. In the speech of Agricola, in our editions of Tacitus, he calls this *annus octavus*, the eighth year ; but this, as Horsley observes, is a mere error in transcribing ; the numbers in old MSS. being always in numerals, so that *VIIIus* had crept in for *VIIus*. For Agricola says that the foe had surprised his camp the year before, *proximo anno* ; and Tacitus expressly calls that the sixth (*sextum officii annum*), as indeed his whole narrative shews. Agricola returning to the country of the Horesti (Fife) orders his fleet to sail round Britain : but it seems only to have visited the north-east shore, when it returned to the *Portus Trutulensis*, a place I can find in no geographer. Agricola is commanded home by Domitian.

From Tacitus, and Ptolemy, it is clear that the Caledonians, or Piks, held then all present Scotland, north of Loch Fyn and Tay. The proper name of the people, or that which they gave themselves, was *Pihtar*, or Piks. The name of *Caledonians* was apparently given them by their Cumraig neighbours ; but its meaning it is impossible to determine, and the most plausible derivation may be the most false. *Kelydhon* is the Cumraig for *woods* ; and it would seem that the name Caledonians means Woodlanders, as their territories were then covered with woods, and especially the vast Silva Caledonia. Tacitus and Ptolemy shew, that the name *Caledonians* was peculiar, and appropriated to these Northern Britons. In vain does Mr Whitaker¹ attempt to prove it an indistinct term, because Richard of Cirencester, a writer of the fourteenth century, ignorantly plants a Silva Caledonia in Kent, and another in Lincolnshire, as he gives

¹ Genuine Hist. of the Britons, p. 123.

us also the true one in Scotland ; and because Lucan says,

Aut vaga cum Tethys, Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos ;

and Valerius Flaccus to Vespasian,

Tuque, O pelagi, cui major aperti
Fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit
Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.

Richard tells us¹ he altered his authorities ; and, when he differs from Ptolemy, deserves no credit. The passage of Lucan only shews that even in his time the Caledonians were the most warlike and famous of the Britons ; whence he ignorantly and improperly applies their name to the whole. Flaccus refers not to the storm that damaged the fleet of Julius Cæsar ; but only says that the Caledonian Ocean *disdained* him, for he never proceeded so far. But to oppose Lucan, a poet who lived before any Roman had seen Caledonia, and Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century, to Tacitus and Ptolemy, who so clearly testify that the name of Caledonians was peculiar to the Northern Britons, or Piks, were too absurd to deserve an answer. Large friths, and great fear, had separated the Piks from the Cumri, so that the latter seem to have called them

¹ Lib. I. c. 7. Ex Ptolemæo et aliunde nonnullis ordinem quoque, sed quod spero in melius, mutatum hinc inde deprehendes. The term *Kelydhon*, or *Woodlands*, might indeed be given by the Cumraig Britons to all the forests in Britain ; and thence different *Silvæ Caledoniæ*, the Romans taking *Kelydon* for a proper name. But no region in Britain was called *Caledonia*, or its people *Caledonii*, except in the north. Ptolemy knew only of one *Silva Caledonia*, that among the *Caledonii*. Richard quotes Lucan for his *silva Caledonia* in Kent ; and Florus III. 10. for that in Lincolnshire ! But it may be judged from these writers, that the Caledonians, and their forest, were famous among the Southern Britons ; and of course vaguely spoken of by the Romans, till Tacitus and Ptolemy disclosed their real situation.

Caledonians, or Woodlanders, as we speak of Highlanders, not having any intercourse with them, so as to know their proper name. But when the Romans and Cumri in time discovered this proper name, they adopted it, and called them *Picti*, and *Phichtiaid*, as they modelled to their own tongues the word *Pihtar*.

Nothing more puzzles a common reader than the multitude of *nations*, which he finds in the ancient barbaric countries. He is apt to conclude them all nations, in the modern acceptation, of different manners and origins. But these nations were only tribes, or as we might say, people of different shires. The nations of savages in America are living images of these ancient nations.

Let us now proceed to state the Caledonians or Pikish tribes, as given by Ptolemy. This geographer wrote in the reign of Antoninus Pius, as appears from his works. It seems also certain that he wrote after the province of Vespasiana was established; for the Roman towns ΟΥΙΧΤΟΡΙΑ, *Victoria*, and ΠΤΕΡΩΤΟΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ, *Castra Alata*, could in no other case have appeared in the shires of Perth and Inverness. It has been shewn that the province Vespasiana could not be erected before Hadrian's time; nor till Lollius Urbicus by his victories obtained to Antoninus Pius the style of Britannicus, which appears on some of his coins: and by his great progress to the north occasioned the foundation of the wall of Antoninus. The very name of *Castra Alata*, as given by Ptolemy, is an invincible proof that the Roman light troops were stationed there, to protect this military and frontier province. Had not this part of Scotland been subject to Rome, the names of towns would have been barbarous, as those of Ireland given by Ptolemy, and could not have borne these irrefragable marks of Roman power. Agricola, to whom our superficial antiqua-

rians impute all the Roman remains in Scotland, had no time to build towns; as he was commanded home the very year he defeated Galgacus. Had he built them, the Piks, who, ravaging all the north, caused Hadrian to retract the frontier to Solway and Tyne, would have utterly demolished their name and existence. LOLLIVS URBICVS* had unfortunately no Tacitus to narrate his actions; but he seems to have performed actions as much more glorious than those of Agricola, as the wall of Antoninus was superior to Agricola's line of forts. This wall could not have been built in the face of an enemy; and a considerable territory beyond it must have been subject to the Romans, as we know to have been the case with that of Hadrian. Ptolemy seems to have written his geography about the year 150; and the Pikish tribes, as he describes them, going up the east shore, and down the west, were as follow.

1. The ΟΥΕΝΙΚΟΝΤΕΣ, *Venicontes*, between Tay and Dee, or in Angus and Mearns. The rivers of the *Venicontes* were the Ταύρα, *Tava*, *Tay*, Τίνα, *Tinna*, or North Esk, and Δίονα, *Diva*, or Dee. Richard says, p. 30, the *Venricones*, or *Vecturones*; but the *Vecturones*, as he well marks in his own map, was a great name, including the *Venicontes* and *Taixali*, or all the east of Scotland. Nay, from Ammianus Marcellinus, it appears to have included all the Piks, save the *Dicaledonæ* on the *Oceanus Deucalidoni*us,

* Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit; alio muro cespitatio, submotis barbaris, ducto. *Capitol. in Pio*. Britannos per Lollium Urbicum proprætozem, et Saturninum præfectum classis vicit; alio muro, submotis barbaris, ducto. *Ricard. Corin*. Richard seems to have seen, and copied, most writers concerning Britain; and had perhaps found occasion to consult many in his journey to Italy. Yet Roger of Chester, a writer of the same period, shews still greater learning, and quotes with much accuracy and care. Good authors and MSS. must have been common in England in the 14th century; the invention of common paper, at the beginning of that century, multiplying copies prodigiously.

or Northern Sea ; that is, the name of Vecturiones spread over the whole province of Vespasiana up to Loch Linnhe and Ness.

2. Next were the ΤΕΞΑΛΟΙ, *Texali*, or Aberdeenshire, who had a town Δεουανα, *Devana*, or old Aberdeen ; the promontory Ταιξαλον ακρον, or Buchanness ; and rivers Κελνιος, *Celnius*, or Devon, and Τουαισις, *Tuesis*, or Spey.

3. The ΟΥΑΚΟΜΑΓΟΙ, *Vacomagi*, or Murray, and a part of Inverness and Perthshires, being at the extremity of the Roman power in this province, had no less than four towns ; Βανατια, *Banatia*, about present Fort William, and ΠΤΕΡΩΤΟΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΗΕΔΟΝ, *Castra Alata*, Inverness, or Fort George. These two were the grand frontier stations against the enemy ; and the fortified line of Vespasiana was that drawn in the reign of George II. against the Highlanders, except that the Romans had no town at Fort Augustus in the middle, though they may have had a fixt camp and forts. The other two towns of the Vacomagi were Τουαισις, *Tuesis*, on the Spey, and Ταμεια, *Tamia*.

4. The only other people¹ in Vespasiana were the ΕΠΙΔΙΟΙ, *Epidii*, of Argyleshire, who held all the west of the province. Among them was the Λελαμονιος κολπος, *Lelamonius Sinus*, or Loch Fyn ; and the Επιδιον ακρον, *Epidium promontorium*, or Mull of Cantire.²

¹ The Γαδηνοι, *Gadeni*, of Ptolemy were in present Dunbartonshire. But they were not Piks, but Cumri. 1. Because Ptolemy marks the *Lelamonius Sinus*, or Loch Fyn, as the south-west boundary of the Caledonians, or Piks. 2. Because the Cumraig kingdom of Strat-Clyde included the south part of Dunbartonshire ; and Dunbarton was its capital.

² Hector Boethius mentions *Berigonium castellum in Loquhabria, Hebridum prospectu, Dounstafage, id est, munitioni Stephani proximum*. This nonsense proceeded from Hector's supposing that Ptolemy's *Rerigonium* in Galloway stood here, as he also thought *Camulodunum* was in Scotland ! Hence our tales of *Berigon* and *Camelon*, for fables easily pass into tradition.

As to the Damnii Albani and Attacotti, whom Richard places in Argyle, they were not there in Ptolemy's time; but arrived about 258, being the first Scots from Ireland, as shall be after shewn. So much for the nations in Vespasiana, where only Ptolemy knew towns, and two of them, as above shewn, infallibly Roman. The other nations, beginning on the east, and going down the west shore, were as follow.

5. The KANTAI, *Cantæ*, on the east of Ross-shire, who had the Ουαρά εισχυσίς, *Varar Æstuarium*, or Murray Frith, into which runs the river Beaulie, anciently called Farar, as its vale is yet styled Strath-Farar, as Mr Shaw¹ tells: the Λοξα ποταμός, *Loxa fluvius*, or Losse Frith, now Cromarty Frith; and a place called by Ptolemy Οχθη Ὑψηλη, *Ripa Alta*, which was infallibly a promontory; and was that called *Penoxullum promontorium* by Richard, who in like manner gives the Varar, Loxa, and this promontory, to the Cantæ. In Richard the name is Cumraig, *Pen-ochel*, the *high head*; and has the same meaning as Ptolemy's term. It is now Tarbat Ness.

6. The MEPTAI, *Mertæ*, were in the middle of present Ross-shire, and having of course no large rivers, &c. Ptolemy only gives the name.

7. The ΛΟΓΟΙ, *Logi*, in the south-east of Sutherland, had Ιλα ποταμός, *Ila fluvius*, Brora, or Vynes; and Βερουβίου ακρον, *Verubium promontorium*, or Ord of Caithness.

8. The ΚΟΡΝΑΤΙΟΙ, *Cornavii*, who had all the northern extremity of Scotland. These people Richard calls *Carnabii*; and says that they and the Cantæ came from South Britain, where were also Cantæ in *Kent*, and Carnabii in *Lancashire*! Nothing more absurd could be imagined; for the Cantæ of Kent were a Belgic people; and the Carnabii of Lancashire a

¹ Hist. of Moray, p. 5.

Cumraig, 200 miles distant from them, on the opposite shore of Britain. The Cantæ of Caledonia had the same name as those of Kent, another Gothic tribe; and from the same circumstances of their territories jutting out as a promontory.¹ The name of *Carnabii*, supposing it the same in Lancashire and Caithness, could never originate from both being of one nation. The Carnabii of Lancashire were Cumraig, and the Cumri had it is likely held the Cornabia in Scotland, and left a name to it, when the Piks drove them out. We find two other *Cars* among these Pikish tribes, the *Careni* and *Carnonacæ*. *Caer* is now Welsh for a town, but how came the Welsh by it? Is it not Gothic, *Kior*, *Lucus*,² a grove, because, as Cæsar tells, the Belgic fortified towns were made in groves? If *Car* be Celtic, how came so many *Cars* among the Scythic nations? We find the *Carini*, a people bearing the identic name of a Pikish tribe, in that part of ancient Germany which is now Pomerania, as Cluverius shews: or close adjoining to the track marked in the Dissertation annexed, as that by which the Peukini proceeded into Scandinavia. There was a *Carrodunum* on the Tyras, and another on the Vistula. A *Caravacium* in Cisalpine Gaul. *Carbilesi* and *Carbiletæ*, two nations of Thrace. *Cardia*, a town of Thrace. *Carelia* is now a province of Livonia. *Carentia*, a town of Pomerania. The *Carians* were of Scythic origin. *Carinianum*, a town of Cisalpine Gaul. *Carniola*, and *Carinthia*, provinces of Pannonia. *Carmania* was a country of the Asiatic Scythians. The *Carni*, a people of Noricum. The *Carpi-ani*, a Scythic people, between the rivers Tyras and Hypanis. *Carrhabia*, a town of Pieria. *Cartemund*,

¹ *Kant*, old German, a promontory, or head-land. See Wachter. *Kanton*, a shore, a region, a province. Id.

² Glossar. ad Orkneyinga Saga. See Dissertation annexed for a quotation from Tzetzes.

a town on the north of Zeeland in Denmark. A hundred other instances might be given; but these suffice: and of these the Carini, Carbilesi, Carbiletæ, Carians, Carmani, Carni, Carpiani, were nations of Scythic origin. Richard says that, as *traditions* bore, the Cantæ and Carnabii formed an alliance in the time of Ostorius, and fled to Caledonia from the Roman yoke. What traditions could reach Richard's time concerning this event, it is impossible to conceive; and I will venture to say there could be none; but that the similarity of names led him to this conjecture; and he pretended traditions, forsooth, to strengthen it. Ostorius was here in the time of Claudius, when the Roman arms had not reached so far north as the Carnabii; nor, if so remarkable an event had taken place, could it have escaped the notice of Tacitus, who, in the twelfth book of his *Annals*, relates the actions of Ostorius, and his conquest of Caractacus, at due length. This tale therefore wants all probability, and even wants possibility, when we consider that the Cantæ were 200 miles from the Carnabii; the former in present Kent, and the latter in Lancashire; the former a Belgic people, the latter a Cumraig; that is, as different as Welsh from English. Each of these nations must have had a fleet to transport themselves; while we find no mention in the ancient writers of any British nation having a fleet. But it is needless to insist longer in confuting this dream of a writer of the fourteenth century, who pretends traditions of matters that happened in the first! What the real traditions concerning British affairs were, we may judge from the fabulous pages of Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth.

This large nation of the Cornavii had Ουιερωεδρον ακρον, *Vervedrum promontorium*, Dunsbay Head: Ταρωιδουμ, η δε Ορχας ακρα, *Tarvidum vel Orcas promontorium*, Dunnet Head; and the river Ναυαος, *Navæus*,

or Naveru, from which the name Cornavii in all likelihood sprung.¹ The north-west extremity of Scotland, or Cape Wrath and its neighbourhood, seems to have been unknown to the Romans.

9. The KAPHNOI, *Careni*, falsely called *Catini* by Richard, were on the west of present Ross-shire. Among them was that fine bay Ουολσας κολπος, *Volsas Sinus*, now Loch Broom.

10. The KAPNONAKAI, *Carnonacæ*, were in the south-west of Ross-shire; and the mouth of the river Ιτυς, *Itys*, was in their country.

11. The KPEONEΣ, *Creones*, were on the west of Inverness-shire.

12. The KEPΩNEΣ, *Kerones*, were on the north of Argyleshire; and in their country was the mouth of the river Λογγος, *Longus*, now Loch Linnhe, or Linny. Such are the Pikish tribes, as given by Ptolemy.

It is well known that this geographer commits a prodigious mistake with regard to the position of present Scotland, making ² it tend quite to the east, instead of running straight to the north, as it does: so that the Mull of Galloway is, by his description, the most northern point of Scotland; and Dunnet Head, opposite to the Orkneys, the most eastern. This mistake is radical, and runs through his whole description of Caledonia, affecting all the longitudes and latitudes he lays down. Mr Whitaker dreams of an astronomical observation, taken at Inverness, for which he, in his usual way, quotes Ptolemy, who says nothing of the matter. Had such an observation been taken, it would have rectified this part of Ptolemy's work at once. But, as before observed, it

¹ So Sir James Dalrymple thinks in his Remarks on Camden's Account of Scotland, p. 195.

² The famous Roger Bacon in his geography long since blamed Ptolemy for this prodigious error. But see Gossellin's Letter in the App. Vol. II.

is wonderful that we have any ancient geography at all; but not so that what we have is full of errors. Ptolemy's geography of Germany and Gaul has great mistakes; though not so absolutely radical as that respecting Scotland. To Ptolemy these remote regions were Japans, and Americas; and, as we are daily rectifying errors in our geography of distant regions, it would be a miracle indeed if the ancients, who wanted all our instruments and skill, had not fallen into errors. Ptolemy's descriptions of Scotland and Ireland were certainly like our descriptions of Japan, China, Kamchatka, &c. derived from merchants and travellers; and the countries being seldom visited, many mistakes would of course creep in.

In Ptolemy's geography of Scotland, the *Οκεανος Γερμανικος*, German Ocean, washes its east side, in which, opposite *Taixalium promontorium*, lie the *Σαξονων Νησοι τρεις*, or Three Isles of the Saxons; which Claudian, as above mentioned, confounded with the Orkneys, though they were on the coast of Jutland. The *Ορκαδες*, or Orkneys, are rightly placed to the north of Scotland, in the *Οκεανος Δευκαληδονιος*, or Deucalionian Ocean, which Ptolemy tells us elsewhere was the same with the Sarmatic, or Baltic, the east part of which lay on the north of the Sarmatæ. In this ocean, above the Orkneys, Ptolemy places Thule, a mere visionary country, which vanished and withdrew to the north as discovery advanced. Ireland, Shetland, Scandinavia, and perhaps Iceland, were respectively called Thule at different times. To the west of Scotland Ptolemy rightly places the Hebud Isles; *Εβουδα*, *Ebuda*, or Lewis; *Εβουδα μεγαλη*, *Ebuda Major*, or Skey; *Μαλεος*, *Maleus*, or Mull; and *Επιδιον*, *Epidium*, or Jura and Ilay, which Ptolemy, not knowing the narrow strait between them, thought but one isle: and *Ρικινα*, *Ricina*, or Rachlin, on the north of Ireland. To the south of these he places *Μοναιδα*,

Monæda, or the Isle of Man. All these lie in the *Οκεανος Ιουερνικος*, *Oceanus Hibernicus*, or Irish Ocean. Richard has ignorantly placed the *Oceanus Deucalidonius* on the west of Scotland, not knowing that Ptolemy, Lib. VII. had expressly called it the same with the *Oceanus Sarmaticus*, or Baltic; which lies to the north, and not to the west of Scotland: and no one will prefer the error of a monk of the fourteenth century, to Ptolemy's positive authority. The seas and isles around Caledonia are all right in Ptolemy's account: his sole error lies in the position of the country itself.

CHAPTER VII.

Pikish Kingdom.

ONE of the greatest philosophers, and wisest men, whom modern times have produced, has enquired into the reason why mankind are so fond of falsehood, as generally to prefer it to truth. He justly observes, that this is owing to the greater decoration, the meretricious ornaments, which falsehood ever bears ; while truth, simple and plain, has no charms for the general eye. Truth, he says, is like open daylight, which does not shew the masks and mummeries of the world in so gaudy a trim as the candle-light of falsehood.* In another place he most justly remarks, that “there is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise ; and therefore those faculties, by which the foolish part of mens minds is taken, is the most potent.” Indeed this weakness is common to the wisest of us ; and thence it is, that owing to our natural love of falsehood, all human history is justly thought, by many thinking men, to contain an infinitely greater number of fables than of truths. *L’Histoire n’est qu’une fable convenue*, says Fontenelle. Men are hard as marble to truth ; but soft as wax to every impression of falsehood.

Now, in all philosophy, there cannot be a more infallible axiom than this, that WHENEVER ANY FALSEHOOD IS RECEIVED AS TRUTH, THE OPPOSITE TRUTH MUST OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY PASS FOR FALSEHOOD.

* Lord Bacon, Essays, I. *On Truth*.

Thus the spherical figure of the earth ; the Copernican system ; the plurality of worlds ; were all regarded as quite false, till certified beyond a doubt ; and then the opposite opinions became quite false. And, in history, so long as the voyage of Francus into France, and that of Brutus into Britain, were received as truths, the real truth was esteemed complete falsehood.

What France was two centuries ago, in regard to its antiquities ; and England was one century ago ; such is Scotland now ; lost in fable, and regarding the truth as falsehood. No fiction can be more absolutely shewn to be false, than the succession of kings of the Scots, from Fergus I. more than 300 years before Christ, to Fergus II. 503 after him. It will afterward be demonstrated, as far as historic demonstration can go, that the Old Scots, or Dalriads, far from being conquerors of the Piks in 843, were themselves subdued by the Piks in 739, according to the Annals of Tighernac and Ulster, the most authentic Irish documents ; and which certainly favour the Dalriads more than the Piks, as the former were from Ireland. That the kingdom of Dalriada, upon its conquest by the Piks, in 739, vanishes from history, and dwindles into nullity ; which could never have been the case had it grown in power, so as in 843 to vanquish the Piks. That Kenneth, noted in our fables as conqueror of the Piks, was real and immediate king of those very Piks, whom we dream that he conquered. That the modern name of Scots, and Scotland, unknown for the people and country of North Britain till the year 1010 or 1020, did not arise at all from the Dalriads, or Old British Scots of Beda ; who, on the contrary, had lost the name of Scots for some centuries before, and were called *Gatheli*, and *Hibernenses*, as terms of special distinction, from the modern *Scoti*, a name given to the

Piks by later Celtic writers, as being *Scythæ*, or *Goths*, as were also the *Old Scoti* of Ireland. That the cause of all this confusion in our history arises from Irish churchmen being our only literati, and historians, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when this confusion begins to appear; and from other reasons afterward explained. That till Kenneth mounted the Pikish throne, the Dalriads were confined to Argyleshire; and did not reach over the other Highlands of Inverness and Ross-shires till centuries after; nor into Sutherland, till the Norwegians left that country. That they never, from their arrival till this hour, exceeded 300,000; while the Piks, the real people of present Scotland, now amount to 1,000,000, and always were to the Dalriads as three to one. And that the line of Dalriadic princes, or Scottish kings, as we dream, even from 503 to the time Kenneth came to the Pikish crown, in 843, is totally vague, and unsatisfactory, as might be expected in such a petty monarchy, or rather dukedom.

Yet so great is the propension of the generality to falsehood, that the people of Scotland plume and pique themselves upon fables concerning the Old Scots or Dalriads, while the Pikish kingdom, so remarkable in the pages of Beda, almost passes for a dream! It was not till this century that the English, so superior to us in antiquaries, discovered that they had no concern with Brutus, and the Welsh fables. The Welsh are to the English what the Dalriads, or Highlanders, are to the people of North Britain: but with this prodigious difference, that the Welsh were in possession of England before the ancestors of the present English; while the Dalriads did not arrive in North Britain till many centuries after the Piks, the real ancestors of the people. The change of the name Piks into that of Scots has occasioned deplorable confusion in our history. Yet it is in detecting

and settling such singular events that the abilities of an antiquary are chiefly to be exerted. These two words, *Scots* and *Scotland*, have hitherto totally ruined our history; but in time truth and good sense will prevail. To these terms is it owing that we of Scotland are to this day enemies of the Piks; and that our antiquaries are propagating falsehood, in order to destroy the history of our ancestors!

I must confess with shame that these prejudices clung around me at first; and that it was some time before I could throw a candid eye upon the Pikish history. After I clearly saw that the Piks were the real ancestors of the present Scots, I looked upon the catalogues of Pikish kings given by Fordun, Winton, Lynch, and Innes, with a suspicious eye; and thought the account of Old Scottish kings better authenticated. As I went deeper into the subject, I saw more and more uncertainty attending the list of Old Scottish kings, even from 503 to 843; and new circumstances to certify the series of Pikish monarchs. Upon a careful perusal of many ancient historians of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, I saw no better evidences of their old monarchs preceding the tenth century than of our Pikish kings. At last I began to ask myself seriously by what unaccountable prejudice it came to pass that I looked upon the Pikish series with quite another eye, than upon those of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, which are no better authenticated? If any instance had occurred, or could possibly occur, of four different lists of kings being all forged, and yet agreeing with Beda, the Irish and Welsh Annals, nay, in one instance with a German annalist? If Scaliger, Petavius, or other chronologists, had better authority for many lists of kings, given by them from one single writer, and universally received by the learned, than we for the series of Pikish monarchs? How it could come to pass that

the list of petty kings of Dalriada could be preserved, and that of the monarchs of all North Britain perish, while the Old Scots were not Christians, even in Ireland, till 432, and the Southern Piks were converted, as Beda shews, about 412; so that the advantage of the light of Christianity was on the Pikish side? What four forgers could arise, so skilful as to follow exactly Beda's account of the Pikish elective succession, that it was in the female, and not in the male line? To answer these questions, and others of the same tendency, was to me utterly impossible; so I willingly dismissed my prejudices, and reposed my mind on the truth, that we have as complete evidence of our Pikish kings, of the kings of all Scotland, from the fifth to the ninth century, as human history affords in such cases: and that the series from the first century to the fifth is equal, as that from the fifth to the ninth is superior, to those of Denmark, Sweden, or Norway, during that whole period of the eight first centuries. In short, it was discovered that the only cause why the Pikish series has been neglected by our historians, falsely so called, and, of course, by our people in general, was the grand axiom above mentioned, WHENEVER ANY FALSEHOOD IS RECEIVED AS TRUTH, THE OPPOSITE TRUTH MUST OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY PASS FOR FALSEHOOD. The Old Scottish series, and the whole history of the Old Scots, are as arrant falsehoods as ever invention propagated, and ignorance believed; and when these were received as truth, the Pikish series, and the real and solid history of the Piks, to be found in the Roman and other grave writers, of absolute necessity passed for falsehoods.

The reasons why the Scottish fables prevailed over the Pikish history it is easy to offer. Innes has shewn that, down to the year 1301, the Pikish series was carefully preserved, and given by our chroniclers;

who rightly commenced the Dalriadic series only at 503; and restrained their power to Dalriada, or Argyile, till 843, when, by their accounts, they ascended the Pikish throne. In 1301 the grand dispute with Edward I. of England arose; and the Highland bards and genealogists having, with their usual ignorance and venality, flattered their chiefs and district so far at the expence of all truth, as to begin, in the dark period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to assert that their own Dalriadic race had come to the Pikish throne by conquest; nay, that the Dalriads had vanquished the Piks seven times in a day, and afterward devoured the whole nation at an entertainment;* incidents certainly not true, and beginning now to be discredited, even in Scotland; the nominal Scots were, by the delusion of these poor senachies, brought to a sad dilemma. For the English, having no idea what the extirpation of a people could mean, and being strangers to the sanguinary romances of Highland bards, had, instead of extirpating the Britons in a dream, with their usual good sense, availed themselves of these very Britons to advance their claim of great antiquity, in their possession of this island. Edward commenced with Brutus; and claimed by succession of the English to the Welsh line. This was sense, and policy, for that age; but the fables of the Highland bards had annihilated the Piks, so that the nominal Scots had no claim of succession. Their only claim was that of extirpation; a claim so truly vague, that it could not have entered the ima-

* *Convocatos itaque, tanquam ad convivium, magnates Pictorum, captata crapulæ opportunitate, clavorum extractione quos tenebant tabulata in bancorum concavitate, mira decipula, poplitenus comiter et improvise lapsos, statim trucidaverunt. Sicque de duobus populis gens bellicosior totaliter evanuit.*—So Giraldus Camb. the father of the fiction, founded on a similar tale of Hengist and the Britons. “Septies una die concreditur,” says Fordun.

gination of a foreigner. "Extirpation!" would the Pope and Cardinals have said; "there is no such word in human history, ancient or modern." To veil therefore this unheard-of claim, the history of the Piks was totally sunk; and the Scots were asserted to have been possessors of the country, by their name of Scots, from the fifth century before Christ. Hence sprung the utter ruin of the history of Scotland; and to the wild imagination of the Highland bards and senachies are we indebted for it. Had the smallest ray of learning glanced across their minds, they must have seen that on the Pikish history alone did the whole honour of their line stand; and that their antiquities were but as ivy round the Pikish column, which, if the column fell, would fall with it. The manifesto of the Scottish lords to the Pope, in 1301, is well known to be the sole basis of our fabulous history; and from 1301 to this hour, being five centuries, has our ancient history remained a Celtic dream, to the laughter and astonishment of all Europe. For every foreigner of the least learning, knowing that the Caledonians and Piks are all one people;¹ and that the Scots were unknown to the Romans till the fourth century, and even then only known in Ireland;² the whole ancient history of Scotland, as it stands, being directly opposite to the Roman accounts, justly passes for an ignorant fiction. Such are the fruits of fiction; while, had the Highland bards and senachies preserved, and sedulously cultivated, the Pikish history, and been even content with asserting that the Dalriadic, or Old Scottish line, came by inheritance to the Pikish kingdom, these

¹ "Les Caledoniens ne sont point à distinguer des Picts," says D'Anville, *Geogr. Anc. Abr.* Tome I. p. 110. So also Cellarius, *Geogr. Ant.*; nay Buchanan, *Caledonii*, . . . *planissime Picti fuerunt.* Lib. I.

² D'Anville, Schœpflin, &c. &c. See Part V. ch. 4.

Scotish lords themselves, in fact all Piks, as three quarters of the people were and are, would have plumed themselves upon the Pikish history; and might, from the Irish Annals, have shewn, if they pleased, that the monarchy was older than Brutus; and from Beda, that the Piks possessed their part of Britain as early as the Welsh did theirs. If the Scotish line came to the succession so late as 843, the line then on the throne of England came in so late as 1154; for the house of Plantagenet then ascended the English throne, by the same right as some writers say the Scotish race ascended the Pikish, namely, female inheritance. But the fiction of the Scotish manifesto served not one purpose that the truth would not have served in a far higher degree. Indeed, it was only one word which caused all this falsehood and delusion. Had the old name of the country, Pikland, been retained, the fables of the Highland bards would never have been infectious. If William the Conqueror had changed the name of England to Normandy, not all the superior clearness of English history could have prevented shocking mistakes.

Setting this weakness entirely aside, it is certain that three quarters of the present Scots are Piks; and that the only history of Scotland is that of Pikland. The slightest enquiry into the subject convinced me, that to write our history, as done for these five centuries, by arranging it under the line of Scotish princes, falsely so called, is as absurd, as it would be to write that of England under the succession of kings of Wales. Winton indeed saw this so early as 1410; and has given our history under the Pikish sovereigns. The Pikish kings were the kings of North Britain. The Old Scotish kings were the princes of Argyle, till 843, when Kenneth ascended the Pikish throne. Such being the case, the plan of

constructing our history, which first occurred to me, was to give no series of monarchs whatever till 843, but from the Roman writers, Beda, Irish Annals, &c. to give every circumstance that could be recovered. But upon full examination of the subject it was clearly seen that the series of Pikish kings was better authenticated than those of the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish sovereigns of the time; as might naturally be expected in a country which became Christian in the fifth and sixth centuries, while Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, were not so till the tenth; and had no writers till the eleventh, while Scotland had Irish writers, Cuminius and Adomnan, in the seventh, beside its constant intercourse with the learned countries of England and Ireland. It was also seen that the series of Danish kings was contained in old catalogues exactly similar to those of our Pikish monarchs; and which it was usual to keep in old calendars and mass-books. Had the Pikish series perished, it would have been indeed a miracle; but that it is preserved and is confirmed by the collateral evidences of Cuminius, Adomnan, Beda, the Irish annalists, and others, is no matter of wonder. Soon after Fordun's book appeared in print, 1684, Sir George Mackenzie's ideas, concerning the antiquity of the Scottish line, raised a singular party heat in Scotland, that, like a furnace, burned the most solid proofs of truth to ashes. At the time of the Union, some English writers moved questions concerning the independency of Scotland; and though all men of sense and science in the latter country began to open their eyes to the falsehood of our history, so clearly evinced by Usher, Bishop, Lloyd, and Stillingfleet, yet that the country had always been independent, was a certain truth, (now universally allowed by English historians): but this point being of supreme delicacy and importance,

there was great hazard in changing the grounds of our history at that time. And as Atwood, and other writers against the independency of Scotland, had availed themselves of charters, since demonstrated by Rymer and others to be palpable forgeries, the Scottish writers had a political right, in a political question, to use their own old forgeries on the other extreme. This ferment was not forgotten, when Innes's valuable Essay on our ancient history appeared, in 1729. That work contained such proofs, as ought instantly to have turned the current of our history: but his own gross errors, concerning the Piks, whom, with Camden and Lloyd, he thought Welsh Britons, rendered the accuracy of his other reasons suspicious to men of reading, who knew this to be a new and futile opinion, directly opposite to all ancient accounts. Innes being also a Papist and violent Jacobite, his work became on these accounts little acceptable, and almost neglected. Our old history since that time has only fallen into the weak and ignorant discussion of a Maitland, and a Guthrie; but even they begin to shew faint gleams of common sense. So late indeed as 1759, Goodal, a warm bigot, wished to reduce all our history to its old barbarism and ignorance, by his superficial introduction to Fordun; a piece which would have disgraced a monk of the twelfth century, and in which all historic evidence is attempted to be melted down in distempered zeal. The two Macphersons, considering themselves of the old Celtic race, have converted the Piks into Celts, and denied all the Pikish history; as it is indeed the grand characteristic of those writers to put falsehood as truth, and truth as falsehood.¹

¹ Dr Macpherson attempts to shew the names of Pikish king Celtic; and instances the following: *Cineoch*, or *Kenneth*; *Oengus*, or *Angus*; *Ennegus*, or *Hungus*; *Elpin*, or *Alpin*; *Urgus*, or *Fergus*; *Canaul*, or *Conal*; *Donel*, or *Donald*: that is, from 100 names he

But, ever since Innes published the two old Pikish Chronicles, all men of sense and science in Scotland have seen that upon them, and their collateral proofs, the whole series of the kings of North Britain preceding 843 stands. Our men of talents have never been antiquaries; and such a line of dunces have discussed our antiquities, that it is no wonder the study of them is disesteemed; and that a country, productive of able writers, is remarkable for that most contemptible of all kinds of ignorance, the ignorance of its own history. The want of public libraries in Scotland is one great cause of this; and the institution of such would contribute more to the real learning of the country, than the foundation of universities: for those who have the use of libraries generally want inclination; and the grand point is to open up to inclination, which alone carries a man through the toils of learning, easy means of indulgence.

Let us now proceed to a particular consideration of the Catalogues we have of our Pikish monarchs. If the reader be accustomed to the Scottish history,

can only pitch on seven or eight, and these he is forced to grant are after Christianity appeared in Pikland. But his error lies in supposing the Dalriadic line Celtic, whereas it was Gothic; and the names are Gothic, as the reader will see after. Sir Robert Sibbald, in his History of Fife, has long ago observed that the names of Pikish kings are Gothic, not Irish; and Dr Macpherson's sad shift of mangling seven names, even to make that number Irish, shews the truth; though Dr M. did not know it. Dr M. also, p. 42, 43, fights against the Pikish list preceding Brudi, 557; and says, why receive it, when the same fragments, which preserve it, may also serve to establish the Scottish kings before Fergus, son of Erc? *The very reverse of this is the truth*; for those fragments, which preserve the Pikish list, have not one of these Scottish kings, but begin every one with Fergus, son of Erc, as the first Scottish king. He also says, p. 16, that the Chronicles, published by Innes, only reconcile us to the loss of the rest: and it is no wonder that such mistaken zeal should eagerly wish for the destruction of all our historic remains, in order to make Ossian and falsehood triumphant.

as it stands preceding 843, he may, it is likely, receive the plain truths here presented with a prejudiced and reluctant ear. But much may be trusted to that good sense which is shewn by my countrymen in other affairs; and it is to that good sense I appeal: and have so high an opinion of its general operation, even in so obstinate a case as this, that I should not be surprised to see even our shallowest writers following the true path, in a very few years. If the reader does not drop old prejudices, the case is desperate; for after all prejudices are put aside, human reason is but a weak affair, and the love of truth no strong motive with mankind. All that is requested of the reader is to follow Lord Bacon's counsel in searching after truth, "to keep his mind in suspense, till he resolve;" and to take up this examination, as the author has done, as a question concerning an ancient series of kings of Macedon, Egypt, Assyria, or of Norway, Sweden, or Denmark. The Catalogues we have of our Pikish kings amount to no less than Five; and are as follow:

I. One given by Fordun, who wrote about 1385; and who does not mention whence he had it. This however agrees so well with Adomnan and Beda, that it would, if solitary, satisfy every unprejudiced mind: and Langbain¹ has thought this alone a sufficient foundation.

II. Winton's account of the Pikish kings, woven into his Chronicle, written about 1410.

III. A Catalogue of the Pikish kings from Brudi, 557, published by Lynch, in his *Cambrensis Eversus*, from an ancient Irish translation of Nennius.

IV. A Catalogue published by Innes, from the *Registrum Sancti Andreae*, written 1251.

¹ Chron. Reg. Pict. in his *Elenchus Ant. Albion, una cum brevi Regum Pictorum Chronico*. Londini, 1673, 8vo.

V. The most complete, important, and authentic, is the *CHRONICON REGUM PICTORUM*, published by Innes, from a MS. in the Colbertine, and now in the king of France's library, written in the fourteenth century; but perhaps this part transcribed from one of the ninth. This MS. was formerly in the collection of Cecil Lord Burleigh; is now in the French king's library, No. 4126; and the reader will find its contents in the Appendix.

All these Catalogues differ in some few points; a clear proof that not one of them was transcribed from any of the others. These variations will be marked in the next chapter. The most remarkable is that I. II. and IV. cut off no less than *FOURTEEN* kings, between *Cruthen* the First, and *Gilgidi* the Sixteenth, but whom they make the Second. For this the Scottish transcribers had two reasons. 1. By thus reducing the number of Pikish kings, they abridged the date of the Pikish monarchy, and made it posterior to the imaginary era of the Scottish. 2. *Brudi Bout*, the 15th king, is said in the genuine Chronicle to have been the progenitor of thirty sovereigns of Ireland, which could only be by conquest; and the Irish origin of the Old Scots, being anciently as certain, and well known as the light of day, the Scottish transcribers could not hear of this assertion, so dashed out this monarch and his predecessors, all save *Cruthen*, who was so well known as the first Pikish sovereign, that the Irish called the Piks *Cruthenich*, after his name; as they called the *Dalreudini* from *Reuda*, and applied many other names of kings to different tribes and nations. But that Number V. as it is the most full and complete in all respects, so is also the most authentic, Innes has shewn by these arguments.

I. The number of kings from *Cruthen* to *Constantin*, is by the most ancient Irish Annals said to amount to *Seventy*. This is exactly the number in this in-

valuable record ; while, by the list given by Fordun, they are but Fifty-eight ; by Winton's account, which is quite imperfect, still fewer ; and by the Register of St Andrew's, only Fifty-two.

II. This Catalogue alone perfectly coincides with other authentic writers, while the others differ widely. Beda informs us, that the year of Christ 565 concurred with the ninth year of Brudi, son of Meilochon, king of the Piks. Thence it follows that Brudi began his reign in the year 557 ; and this is a fixt and important epoch, to which all the other reigns may be referred.

1. All writers agree with Beda, that, in 685, Egfrid, king of Northumberland, was slain in battle by the Piks ; and the ancient additions to Nennius say it was by Brudi, king of the Piks, that Egfrid was killed. Now by this Chronicle, the reign of Brudi, son of Bili, began 676, and ended 697. While, by Fordun's list, this king began to reign in 660, and reigned only eleven years, or till 671.

2. Ceolfrid, abbot of Wiremouth, wrote his famous letter about Easter, and the Tonsure, to Naitan, king of the Piks, in 715. *Beda*. And this agrees perfectly with the chronology of this Chronicle, according to which Naitan, son of Derili, or Nethan III. reigned from 712 till 727. While, by Fordun's Catalogue, Naiton ended his reign in 703 ; and by the Register of St Andrew's, did not begin to reign till 747. So that they must be both wrong, and the Chronicle alone exact.

3. The death of Ungust, son of Vergust, king of the Piks, is fixt to the year 761, by a short Chronicle at the end of Beda, and by Roger Hoveden, and Simeon of Durham. Now this agrees exactly with this Pikish Chronicle ; according to the supputation of which the death of Ungust happened just that year 761. While by Fordun's Catalogue, it would have

been 737 ; and by the Register of St Andrew's, about the year 800.

4. Kineod, king of the Piks, gave a retreat in his kingdoms to Alcred, king of Northumberland, expelled from his throne in 774, according to Roger Hoveden, and Simeon of Durham. The very name of this Kineod is not to be found in any of the Catalogues, save this, and the one given by Lynch. And in this Chronicle the death of Kineod is placed in 775, in which Roger and Simeon also agree.

These arguments, invincible as truth, must establish the great fidelity and authenticity of this Chronicle beyond all possibility of doubt, even with the most ignorant and prejudiced. Upon this Chronicle alone then must our series of Pikish kings be given ; and all the rest be referred to it, as an infallible standard. This shall be done in the next chapter : but, before proceeding further, as, in so essential a point as the series of Pikish monarchs, the kings of North Britain, no shadow of doubt should be left, a few arguments shall be offered for the authenticity of this series. No one, whose mind is not blinded by prejudice, can indeed question a series of monarchs established in general by no less than Five Chronicles, all bearing intrinsic marks that they are not copied from each other, nor from any forged archetype ; but the following considerations are offered, which, it is hoped, may remove all prejudice. For to him, who looks into these monuments with the same freedom of mind that is applied to a list of Macedonian or Assyrian kings, the only wonder will be what distempered fancy could suggest a doubt on the occasion. That he who believes in the Scottish series will not credit the Pikish, that a believer in Ossian will not credit authentic records, is indeed a natural consequence. For to weak minds, by a perversion of mental vision, truth seems falsehood, and falsehood truth ; and it is

ever found that WHEN FALSEHOOD IS RECEIVED AS TRUTH, THE OPPOSITE TRUTH MUST OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY PASS FOR FALSEHOOD.

1. The reason why the Pikish series has been neglected, is the change of the name of Piks for that of Scots in the eleventh century ; and the fables which our Irish Chroniclers built upon that change. No Pik, or Lowlander, can be discovered as a writer, till two centuries after this, when the very name of Pik and Pikland was lost in the profound gloom of that period ; and in 1301 we find the name of Scots had so far operated, that the Piks, or Lowlanders, were fighting for the name of Old Scots, and gravely implying their own extirpation ! Now to trust these Celtic senachies with the real history of a country, would be as absurd as to search for the history of England in Geofrey of Monmouth. Truth and falsehood are totally heterogeneous ; and as, in Geofrey of Monmouth, the real and solid history of Britain is quite sunk, and a series of Celtic phantoms given in place of it, that, by utterly extinguishing the history of the English, exalt the Welsh, who were ever confined to a corner of Britain, to the greatest glory, such was exactly the case with our history. Alas, such actually it is ! for let the reader suppose for a moment that Beda, and the Saxon Chronicle, (only two little books,) had perished, as no other English historians arose till the twelfth century, Geofrey of Monmouth would infallibly have been followed in all things, as he really was in most till this very century ; and the history of England, had it not been for Beda alone, from whom the early part of the Saxon Chronicle is taken, would at this hour have been like the history of Scotland, a mere Celtic dream. Pikland produced no Beda ; and of so vast importance is literature to a country, that one literary man may, like a petty deity, give a whole nation fame, and its constant attendants, power and

dignity. And the want of one literary man may sink a country in the eyes of all other nations ; and reduce it to almost a non-existence. What the English are to the Welsh, such are the people of North Britain to the Highlanders. And as the real history of England has quite perished, if regarded only in the Welsh accounts ; so has our history in the Highland visions.

2. Beda tells us, that the Pikish elective succession of kings was in the female line, from all antiquity, and retained to his time. This succession shall be further considered afterward ; but it suffices here to remark, that by this mode no son was successor to his father ; but the sister's son, daughter's son, or next heir chosen on the female side. Now the series of Pikish kings fully accords with this account. To Drust, son of Erp, succeeds Talorc, son of Aniel, &c. ; to Brudi, son of Bili, succeeds Tharan, son of Entifidich ; and to him Brudi, son of Derili, &c. To a free mind this minute, but important, coincidence must afford an infallible proof of veracity.

3. The Catalogue of Pikish monarchs, given by Lynch, from an old Irish MS. of Nennius, perfectly agrees with the most important Pikish Chronicle, Number V. save that in one or two places the number of years assigned to a reign vary. The other Catalogues all differ so much among themselves, as to prove beyond a doubt that they could not be copied from each other, nor from one archetype ; and yet all agree so far as fully to confirm the veracity of the whole series.

4. The *Psaltair Cashail* ; a Metrical Chronicle of the kings of Dalriada, composed by the bard, or senachy, of Malcolm III. 1056, as the conclusion bears ; the *Leabhair Dromnasnacta* ; book of Lecan ; and other Irish monuments ; ALL agree that there were Seventy kings of the Piks preceding Constantin.

The invaluable Catalogue, Number V. gives just this number ; and it also agrees in four grand epochs with Beda, Hoveden, Simeon of Durham, and other early English writers ; proofs of authenticity, which, in any other case, would be held infallible. This piece must, if a forgery, have been composed either before, or after, the twelfth century ; when the greater number of the above authors appeared. If before, then they copied it ; if after, the forger, who, as appears from his production, could hardly spell a Latin word, was conversant in all the Irish and English historians ; and so skilful as to accommodate his whole production to them. That the Irish Annalists, and Hoveden, and Simeon, followed this Catalogue, and accommodated their narration and dates to it, in events of which no vestige is to be found in it, the most wild imagination will never conceive. And that a forger should arise in the fourteenth century, who had carefully studied unique Irish MSS. Beda, Simeon of Durham, and Hoveden, and with an art which has all the simplicity of truth, had adapted his whole series to these writers ; nay, to Four other Pikish Catalogues ; is yet more impossible than the former. But no man, whose prejudices have not quite extinguished his rationality, can suppose either of these cases. And the point comes at once to this issue. Either this Pikish Chronicle is a forgery, and its coincidences with the best and most authentic writers are unaccountable ; or it is most true and authentic, and its coincidences with such writers are natural, necessary, and unavoidable. Let the reader chuse ; after taking this certain truth along with him, that all historic forgeries, yet discovered, have violated chronology, and clashed with authentic authors. If a foreigner happens to look into this work, he may with reason think meanly of the author's judgment, for insisting on a matter which would appear so clear at

first in the history of Denmark, Germany, Italy, Spain, France, or any country where ancient history is cultivated : but he will please to reflect, that in Scotland ancient history is lost by the prejudices, falsehood, ignorance, and indolent superficiality, of our writers ; and that with us the whole power of reasoning must be employed to establish truth, which, in learned and unprejudiced countries, establishes itself.

5. We have FIVE Catalogues of Pikish kings, ALL, though different, confirming each other. Scaliger, Petavius, and others of the greatest learning and most severe judgment, have, in many cases, given a series of ancient kings, from only *one* list ; and that series has yet been universally received, and passes every where current as undoubted Historic Truth. In the name of common sense, is one single list, given by one single author, who in some instances wrote a thousand or fifteen hundred years after the series closed, to be preferred to five several lists, all confirming each other, and confirmed by authentic ancient authors ; and written within four and five hundred years after the series closed ; nay, according to all appearance transcribed from originals, written when the series existed ? For though the Piks used no letters, yet they had Welsh and Irish churchmen among them, from the fifth century, who did use letters.

6. We must deny all historic evidence, if we deny the Piks to be Goths from Scandinavia. Now many of the names of Pikish kings are the very same found in Runic monuments, and may be all traced in the Gothic, as I have especially traced all their epithets in that language : for which see next chapter. This adds great authenticity to the CHRONICON PICTORUM.

7. Though the Danes and Swedes had no letters till the tenth century, for the ridiculous antiquity assigned to the Runic monuments with inscriptions is

now dispelled,¹ yet all allow the list of Danish and Swedish kings to be authentic from the sixth century. How were they preserved? By songs and tales; by historic bards, and genealogists. That historic songs were common among the German Goths, is clear from Tacitus.² From such songs did Saxo Grammaticus compose his history; and he produces them constantly as vouchers. But they are mingled with fiction, and Saxo's history of Hamlet, immortalized by Shakespeare, and which, by Saxo's account, happened before our era, is palpably taken from a ballad, written not above fifty years before Saxo; for it mentions a wood between Scotland and England; and there was a sea till after 1010, when the name of Scotland was first given to North Britain. Saxo indeed, in another place, following a real old ballad, calls present Scotland *Petia*, or *Petland*.³ The danger therefore was, that historic songs were liable to be confounded with romantic ballads, as Saxo has done always. The true series of kings was that preserved by the genealogists, who, at coronations, and other solemn events, repeated the series in barren verse, which only bore the names and years of the reign. These historic lists are easily known from this peculiarity, and their having no ornaments nor incidents whatever, as shall be more fully mentioned presently. They were in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when learning appeared in the northern kingdoms, as it then began to revive in others, translated into Latin; or Latin Catalogues

¹ Dissert. de origin. Run. in Collect. Diss. de Ant. Sueciæ in Bibl. Regia. Runic letters were in common use in Scandinavia, so late as the 15th century. Venantius Fortunatus, about 530, knew them in Gaul, whence they passed to Germany, but apparently did not reach Scandinavia till the ninth century, at the soonest.

² Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est, &c. Tacit. Germ.

³ Lib. IX. p. 171, edit Steph. "*Scotiæ ac Petiæ*," that is, Ireland and Pikland. He is speaking of Regnar Lodbrog, about 830.

made from them. These Latin Catalogues, which in the Danish history exactly resemble the Scottish, have been carefully collected, and esteemed, as they are, the sole foundations of the real history of the kingdoms. The latest historians follow them only; and reject the romances of Saxo, and others. Pikland was a kingdom at least as powerful as ancient Denmark; and inhabited by the very same people. The same manners must have prevailed; and the list of kings must have been constantly repeated and preserved. But the Dalriadic bards came in time to be preferred by our princes, as their speech was a written one, and more polished than the Pikish, an unwritten tongue: but these bards, accustomed only to the Dalriadic series, would continue to repeat it; as we find the bard of Malcolm III. do in the poem of this very kind, which is extant. And this bard contents himself with barely mentioning that Seventy Pikish kings had reigned over Pikland, from Cathluan, an epithetic name which the Irish writers give to Cruthen,^{*} the founder of the Pikish monarchy, to Constantin. At the coronation of Alexander III. 1249, we find all mention of the Pikish kings dropt; for a Highlander on that occasion repeated the famous genealogy of that monarch in prose, which is preserved by Diceto, Fordun, and others: in which he is traced in the Dalriadic line of kings. Thus were the Highland senachies, a set of the most ignorant strollers that ever disgraced a country, totally to bury our genuine history; and lay the foundation of that Celtic edifice of falsehood and nonsense, which we call the ancient history of Scotland. Utter falsehood was received as truth; and the truth of consequence began to pass for falsehood. But as the Danes in last

^{*} So the Greeks, as Herodotus says, called the Candaules of the Lydians Myrsilus.

century believed in Saxo, whom they had credited for five centuries, but now universally allow five or six short lists of their old monarchs, exactly resembling those of our Pikish kings, and but lately recovered, like these, from old manuscripts, to be the sole foundation of their genuine history, such will be our case. And if a few Goodals in Scotland, and Lyschanders in Denmark, rise to oppose forgery to truth, they will soon sink into neglect; for though mankind are prone to falsehood, yet in all history truth has always prevailed in the end. Nor is it to be supposed that Scotland alone will ever deny to found its real history upon that broad and solid basis of Gothic sense, and sobriety of mind, upon which that of other European kingdoms stands; or be content, along with the Welsh and old Irish, instead of real antiquities, to hold out a weak romance to the derision of Europe. Men who foster such prejudices, are the bitterest enemies of their country; for they keep its history out of that of Europe: and no foreigner has meddled with our ancient history, or ever introduced it into universal history, or indeed ever mentioned it but with scorn. Hence the respect due to the nation is violated; and its fame and honour destroyed in the eyes of other nations.

8. The importance of the Pikish monarchy, whose kings are never mentioned by Beda, a contemporary writer, but with some epithet of great power,¹ and which was the largest in Britain, for it existed during the Heptarchic Times, may warrant us to conclude that it would have been indeed strange, if we had not even a list of its kings. We have lists of those of every heptarchic kingdom; nay, of the petty kingdom of Dalriada: we have lists of the kings of Ireland, of Denmark, of Norway; nay, of the judges of Iceland,

¹ Regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon Rege potentissimo. III.
4. Domino excellentissimo, et gloriosissimo regi, Naitano. V. 22.

and of the Orkneys and Farroe isles. Was Pikland alone, a kingdom in the heart of these countries, specially marked for oblivion by nature? What strange prejudice can infer, that lists of the petty kings of the Old Scots in Dalriada are infallibly true; and those of the monarchs of North Britain, found in the very same MSS. and supported by English and Irish authorities (which the former contradict), are false? What amulet, what magic charm, is there in the names of Scot and Scotland, that should lead ignorant and superficial minds to take truth for falsehood, and falsehood for truth? Because falsehood has remained for five centuries, is it less false than at first?

9. The best Catalogue of our Pikish kings was found in a manuscript which had belonged to Lord Burghley, and which, as it chiefly relates to Scottish affairs, had in all appearance been brought from Scotland. As it was written about the year 1350,¹ after the expeditions of Edward I. it seems uncertain how it passed into England. The Register of St Andrew's, in which another Catalogue was found, ends 1251. Fordun's Catalogue of Pikish kings differs from both these, and could not be copied from either. Winton's differs from all the three; and is not copied from the Register of St Andrew's, as Innes says, but was apparently taken from a MS. of the monastery in Lochleven, of which Winton was prior; for Maul of Melgum, in his inaccurate History of the Piks, says he had his account of the Pikish kings from MSS. formerly belonging to St Andrew's, and Lochleven. These MSS. like some others which totally abolished the Scottish antiquity, and established that of the Piks, are suspected to have been wilfully destroyed by zeal for the Scottish *name*. Now all these Chronicles must have been necessarily transcribed from ancient lists; for after the name of Scotland was given to the country, about

¹ See its contents in the Appendix.

1010, the Pikish name gradually vanished. In 1138, at the War of the Standard, we find the last mention of the Piks in history ; and the name was then confined to the people of Galloway, who, till that century, had been independent Piks under their own princes, the lords of Galloway, and thus had escaped the denomination of Scots, then given to the other Piks. After 1301, no nominal Scotishman would have sought to honour the Piks, though his real ancestors, at the expence of the Scots, his name-fathers : far less have forged Chronicles for that purpose. If these Catalogues were forged, it must have been in the eleventh or twelfth century, before the Pikish name was lost in the Scotish. And they could only be forged by Piks, who gloried in the name. Now let the reader conceive, if he can, four such skilful forgers to arise among the Piks, an illiterate people, as to compose these Four Catalogues, differing in themselves, and yet agreeing so far, as, with all the simplicity of truth, to establish each other : and the best of them wholly confirmed by the English and Irish ancient authors. St Andrew's and Lochleven were founded and protected by Pikish kings ; it was therefore most natural that they should cherish the memory of their benefactors ; and the finding Catalogues of these kings at these places, is a confirmation of their truth, at the same time that the Register of St Andrew's, being written after the name of Scots had prevailed, we find the Catalogue mutilated, and the victory of the Scots over the Piks asserted ; a further confirmation of its truth to every unprejudiced mind. The book in which the real ancient Chronicle of the Piks, confirmed by the old English and Irish writers, as above shewn, is preserved, I suspect to have belonged to some religious house in Galloway, where the Pikish name remained in full vigour in 1138, and to all appearance long after. And that this Chronicle in particular is no forgery,

has been fully shewn above ; not to mention that the intrinsic evidence is very strong, its simplicity being extreme. Nay, this very Catalogue must have been transcribed by some nominal Scotishman, for in another place of the MS. he asserts the extermination of the Piks by the Scots, and has a declamation against the sins of the Pikish nation, which brought them to this utter destruction. Hence it is clear that it was not written by a nominal Pik ; but transcribed from an older copy, like the other pieces in that collection, by some nominal Scotishman : and no Scotishman would forge a series of kings in which a Pikish conquest of Ireland was asserted ; and such great antiquity given to the Piks above the Scots.

10. The Southern Piks, between the Forth and the Grampian Hills, or of present Fife, Stirling, Dumbar-ton, Perth, Angus, and Mearns, by far the most populous tract of Pikland, were converted to Christianity, by St Ninian, about 412, as Beda shews. In 565 the Northern Piks were converted, as the same writer, Cuminius, Adomnan, and others, testify. The Christianity of the Piks seems indeed to have been dubious, and precarious ; as that of the Scandinavians was for centuries after their conversion, though so late as the tenth century. For there is not one Pikish saint, or churchman of any kind, on record, while Dalriada, Ireland, Wales, and England, were swarming with them. The saints of England were indeed chiefly Welsh and Irish, a race to whose understandings the corrupt Christianity of the dark ages was peculiarly adapted, and who carried fanaticism to such extravagance as to pass for the most holy and learned men that ever existed. A consideration which escapes those who reflect not that the learning then in vogue was very weak ; and affect to wonder that the aboriginal Irish, then so famous for learning, have not produced one learned man since real learn-

ing revived. But though we have innumerable lives of Irish and Welsh saints, who lived in England; yet we have none of any who lived in Pikland, for Ninian and Columba were only visitors. And though we have English saints; yet not one Pikish saint is known. Had any such arisen, they would never have wanted fame; for the Irish, Welsh, or English writers would have preserved it. Had Christianity flourished in Pikland, it would certainly have introduced letters, as it did into every other country. Yet, while the Saxons, Welsh, and Irish wrote their own language, there seems every reason to doubt if the Pikish was ever a written language till the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the name of Piks had vanished. However there were certainly Irish and Welsh churchmen allowed to settle in Pikland, from the fifth century downward. The church of Abernethy was founded about the year 600, by Garnat IV. or by Nethan II. kings of the Piks. Abernethy is south of the Grampian Hills; and of course among these Piks, who were converted by Ninian. To the north of these hills there is no evidence of any religious foundation whatever, till after the ninth century. About 700, Brudi, son of Derili, founded religious houses at Culross; and in Saint Serf's Isle, Lochleven, if we believe Winton. Dunkeld was founded by Constantin, about 800. The story of St Regulus is fabulous; and St Andrew's was founded by Ungust, about 825. In short, the four places of religion, *Abernethy*, which Innes rightly puts as the most ancient, *Lochleven*, *Dunkeld*, and *St Andrew's*, were the only places in Pikland where any Chronicle, or Catalogue of the kings could be kept. For till after the Pikish line is said to have failed, 843, there was not another religious house in the whole kingdom. There was a Chronicle of Abernethy,¹ which is un-

¹ Fordun, IV .12. quotes it once for the foundation of Abernethy, by Garnat IV. son of Domelch.

fortunately lost. But Winton has copied his list from a catalogue kept at Lochleven ; and the Register of St Andrew's has preserved another. Though Lochleven being near St Andrew's, and the monastery there immediately subject to the canons of that see, these two last lists have been mutilated by mutual connivance, in order to bring down the commencement of the Pikish monarchy to a later period than the visionary date of the Scottish. The Register of St Andrew's quotes the ancient books of the see, which related to the Pikish period, by the title of *LIBRI PICTORUM* ; and produces a Latin charter of Ungust II. from these *libri Pictorum*.¹ An old description of Scotland, written, it is supposed, by Giraldus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century, also refers to *PIKISH ANNALS*.² From these considerations it follows, that as the Piks had religious houses among them, from the seventh century, and books concerning their affairs were extant in the twelfth, the memory of reigns and events must have been kept among them ; and the poor preservation of the names of their kings is so much a matter of course, that it would have been truly extraordinary, if it had not happened, while the lists of Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish kings from the sixth century are admitted ; though these nations had not Christianity, nor religious houses, till the tenth century.

11. For the kings of the Saxon heptarchies we have only one authority older than the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Saxon Chronicle ; and, as it is by no means full, we freely trust authors of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, in any further intelligence they give. Our latest Pikish

¹ Sibbald's Hist. of Fife "in veteribus Pictorum libris scripta reperimus."

² Apud Innes : "in gestis et annalibus antiquis Scotorum et Pictorum."

Chronicle is from a manuscript of the beginning of the fourteenth century ; and supposing, what will appear an impossibility to any one who looks into it, that it was composed at the time of the manuscript's being written, it is inconceivable to a candid mind, why less credit should be given to it concerning early transactions, than is given to other monuments of that age concerning such transactions.

12. To conclude these considerations, it may be safely said that he, who denies the authority of our five lists of Pikish kings, may, with equal reason, deny all historic authority ; or believe, and reject, at pleasure, as his own caprice shall dictate. For it will, to every free mind, appear much more rational to credit five different pieces, containing barely events, so universally marked and known, as the names of a succession of kings, with the number of years they reigned ; and all written in the country in which they reigned, probably from more ancient monuments composed during their reigns, but at any rate drawn up within four centuries after this series closed, than to lend faith to the early history of Greece, or Rome. For in the last instances we credit writers, who lived five or six centuries after the events they relate, for minute relations of these events ; though they happened in a period when there were none to record them. In the former we only credit the universally known and marked circumstances of the names of kings, and years of their reign, the surest and most infallible features of history : and the greater part of the series belongs to a period when Christianity prevailed in the country, and there were men who used letters to record it. In the early history of Greece and Rome we have no collateral authorities. In the Pikish series we have the strongest collateral authorities, of authentic writers, of surrounding nations. In the former we generally trust to one writer for

minute events. In the latter we trust five, for the most notorious events in history.

13. This volume was written, and the Pikish chronology digested, before I happened to peruse a translation of the Annals of Ulster; which, with those of Tighernac and Innisfallen, form the real ancient history of Ireland after St Patrick's time, 432; and are as free from fable as the Saxon Chronicle, or any genuine annals digested in the driest manner can be. The reader may believe that it was with great pleasure I observed not only the names and dates, but many actions of the Pikish kings preserved in these Annals, from the time of Brudi, 557, to that of Kenneth, 843, in as exact correspondence with the Pikish Chronicle as possible: and that not even the slightest incoherence, or contradiction, occurred through the whole. In these Annals the ancient matters, as appears from repeated quotations, are from Tighernac, who wrote in the year 1088; and Ware's account of Irish history is derived almost wholly from them. They are also consonant with the Saxon Chronicle, and old English histories, as well as latterly with the Icelandic and Danish, as to Scandinavian affairs in Ireland. This additional and ultimate proof regards the names, dates, and actions, of about thirty Pikish monarchs: and being written in a neighbouring country, and interwoven with the history of that country, must convince even the most prejudiced of the veracity, and authenticity, of our Pikish history.

Having thus far combated the irrational prejudices, entertained by the superficial ignorance of some of my countrymen, against authentic monuments of our real ancestors, let us proceed briefly to consider: I. The nature of the Pikish succession. II. The manner in which historic lists of kings have been preserved by tradition. III. The plan upon which the chronology of our Pikish monarchs is to be adjusted.

§ I. *The Nature of the Pikish Succession.* It is a striking peculiarity, in the Pikish series, that the son of a king never appears as king; so that in the whole list, till just at the close, not one king is seen, whose father ever held the sceptre. The kingdom, like those of Sweden and Denmark, was elective; but the kings were chosen out of a peculiar and numerous race of nobles; who all deriving their genealogy from ancient monarchs, were called REGALIS PROSAPIA, OR THE ROYAL RACE. Jornandes informs us of similar races among the Ostrogoths, or Eastern Getæ; and Visigoths, or Western Getæ. The election, as in other Gothic kingdoms, must have rested with the people, who in Caledonia had such sway, that Dio¹ says, the government was chiefly democratic. As for men being delivered over, like sheep on an estate, from one lord to his heir, though useful in great and refined monarchies, such an idea does not even occur to a warlike people. Among the Piks he of the royal race, who was strong, valiant, and wise, would be chosen; but when two candidates of equal worth appeared, and the balance was doubtful, he was chosen who, descending of the royal race, by the female line, was thought to have a surer claim to royal blood, than him who descended by the male line. Of this rule of elective succession, Beda thus instructs us: *ut, ubi res veniret in dubium, magis de fæminea regum prosapia, quam de masculina, regem sibi ELIGERENT: quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum.*² Of the number of the Royal Race we may judge from the charter of Ungust II. published

¹ Δημοκρατούνται τε ως πληθσι. Dio Lib. 76. de Caledoniis loquens.

² The Saxon translation by Alfred is, *Mid thy Peohtar wif næfdon bædon him fram Scottum. Tha gewafedon hi thære arednesse, ant him wif sealdon, that ther seo wise on tweon cyme, that hi thone ma of tham wif cynne him cyning CURAN, thonne of tham wæpned cynne.*

by Sibbald in his account of Fife, where no less than twelve witnesses are given; all sons of different fathers; with this addition, *Isti testes ex REGALI PROSAPIA geniti sunt*, "All these witnesses are born of the ROYAL RACE."

Among the Marcomanni and Quadi the royal races were the Marobodui and Tudri: *Tac.* Among the Lombards Paulus Diaconus mentions two dynasties, or races the Gunginci, and Lithingi. Jornandes mentions the Asdingi among the Vandals. The Persians, says Strabo, were ruled by a race:¹ and the royal race, or relations of the king, were very numerous.² Pontanus says the ancient Danes elected their kings from the royal family; and the succession of son to father, given by Snorro, is a romantic error founded on the ideas of the later scalds.

Till the fifth century the Pikish monarchy was confined to the Hebudes, where Solinus found it in the third, as after stated. From that passage of Solinus it is easy to account for the number of the Royal Race; for the king was not allowed to marry, but took any woman he chose, and dismissed her when he chose. Though this custom must have fallen when Christianity was introduced, yet the rights of the Royal Race were, as appears from Beda, sedulously preserved. This plurality of wives was merely an indulgence of the great, and did not extend to the people.

Ariovistus, according to Cæsar,³ had two wives. Saxo represents Hamlet (king of Jutland, and not of

¹ βασιλευνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπο γένους. Lib. XV.

² Curtius, Lib. III. "Exiguo intervallo quos Cognatos Regis appellant, Decem et Quinque Millia Hominum." Vide etiam Justin. Lib. X. Diodor. Sic. Lib. XVII. Arrian. Lib. III. But it appears to have been latterly granted as a title of honour. Esdras III. c. 3, 4. Joseph. XI. 4. Arrian. VI.

³ De Bell. Gall. I. 59.

Denmark, as he says) as having several.¹ Harald Harfagre had so many that, when he married Ragnhildis, he put away nine.² Tacitus³ observes, that the nobles, among the Germans, were distinguished by having many wives. Justin and others say that before Cecrops marriage was unknown in Greece. Herodotus describes the Massagetæ, as Cæsar does the Britons, and he mentions that the Agathyrsi had wives in common. So late as the year 770 Charlemagne, though already married, wedded Desiderata. Gregory of Tours observes, that kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, Chilperic, had several wives. Walsingham, in his *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, tells us that the Danes had many wives; and used to turn out their sons to shift for themselves.

The above mode of elective succession must appear very singular to modern ideas. Yet in some ancient kingdoms, it is believed, similar institutes may be found. Montesquieu⁴ tells us from Du Halde, that it was regulated in some of the Chinese dynasties, that the brothers of the emperor might succeed; but that his son should never succeed. This was to prevent the danger of minorities. According to the customs of Numidia, Delsacius, brother of Gela, succeeded to the kingdom; and not Masinissa his son. And, at this day, among the Arabians of Barbary, where every village has its chief, according to that ancient custom, the uncle, or some other relation, is CHOSEN, but never the son. There are, says Montesquieu, states where the princely maintenance of the king's sons would be impossible to the people; and it

¹ Saxo IV. p. 59.

² Snorro, Harfagre's Saga, c. 21.

³ *Singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui, non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur.* Germ. c. 18.

⁴ *Esprit des Loix*, XXVI. 6.

may there be ordered that the sons of the king shall not succeed him, but those of his sister. There are also nations, adds he, where reasons of state, or some maxim of religion, demand that a certain family should always reign. Such is in India the jealousy of its blood, and the fear of a defect in its succession, that, to have always princes of the blood royal, the sons of the king's eldest sister are preferred. Some tribes of North American savages also follow this plan; and give for reason, that *the female is the surest side*.

Let me add a few more instances of this practice. Polybius, Lib. XII. tells us that the Locrians estimated nobility, not by the male, but by the female line. Nicolaus Damascenus¹ says, that among the Lycians the daughters and not the sons inherited.² A late author³ observes that, among the Natches on the Mississippi, who believe their royal race children of the sun, the sister's son always succeeds: and that in Fouli, a negro kingdom of Africa, the female line always inherit the crown, there being no security in the male line, as the women are prone to gallantry. Voltaire⁴ remarks, that in Cochin the king's son is not heir, but the sister's son; a practice also found in Guinea.

That the Pikish kingdom was ELECTIVE is clear from the above decisive passage of Beda, who was contemporary with it, and lived on its borders. That this was the plan of the other Gothic kingdoms is also well known. Tacitus says of the Germans, that they chose their kings from the nobility of their race:⁵ and the highest race, that of royal progeny, must have been the most noble. M. Mallet informs us, that in

¹ In excerpt. Vales. p. 516.

² Sueno observes, p. 73, that among the old Danes daughters and sons were equal heirs; but he gives a fabulous origin of the custom.

³ Lord Kames, in his Sketches of the History of Man.

⁴ Essai sur l'Hist. Univ.

⁵ Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. Tacit. Germ.

ancient Denmark and Sweden, the very same custom prevailed; the kingdom was elective, but the people always chose one of the royal blood, which they revered as sprung from the gods. But about the year 900, we find the kings of Denmark, by a gradual increase of power, had influence enough to pass the kingdom to their own sons; for Gormo the Old then succeeded his father Horda-Cnut; as Harald Blatang succeeded his father Gormo: and this mode generally happened afterward. In Sweden also hereditary succession seems to have been as early allowed. Yet these kingdoms continued elective to last century, as is well known. The Runic characters were, it is thought, unknown in the northern kingdoms till Christianity appeared there; and at any rate all allow that they were only used in inscriptions till that event; so that we have not one written monument of any kind till the eleventh century. Hence their history being confined to the song of the bard, and the old songs being constantly supplanted by new ones, the authors of which often accommodated old times to their own ideas, we know nothing certain concerning the old mode of elective succession to the throne. The names of the kings are preserved; but that they were sometimes sons of their predecessors we have no authority, except that of ignorant bards, who knew no manners, save those of their own times. Saxo's work, which is built on the songs of the bards, is now justly regarded as quite fabulous down to the tenth century, when the real history of Denmark begins, as Mallet has justly observed.

The power of the Gothic sovereigns depended wholly on the will of the people in every clime. In Thrace, as in Pikland, we have examples of kings deposed:¹ and in Scandinavia, though the king was

¹ See the example of Scyles. Herodot. IV.

also chief priest, it was not uncommon that he should be sacrificed to the gods, as an atonement for the people.¹ Even so late as the time of Canute the Great, kings were subject to public penance, if they offended; and that not imposed by ambitious priests, but established by equal laws.² Schoening justly observes, that the government, among the ancient Scandinavians, was at first Monarchico-democratic; but degenerated into Monarchico-aristocratic.³ The Scandinavian history abounds with examples of kings dethroned; and the Swedes at a late period told king Olaf Skotkonung, in the national council, that their ancestors in the council of Mul had ordered five tyrannic kings to be thrown into a well; and that they were ready to follow the precedent, if he gave occasion.⁴ Rembert, in the life of St Amsgar, one of the oldest pieces of Scandinavian history, says that, among the Swedes, every public business depended upon the voice of the people, more than on the power of the king. In the assemblies the meanest peasant either sat, or was represented; and the king followed their instructions. Among the northern Germans, the Lugii, Suiones, Sitones, the kings had indeed more power, than among the southern, as we learn from Tacitus: a circumstance apparently owing to the wealth of individuals, and consequent aristocracy in the southern states, which circumscribed the regal power with perpetual rivalry; while in the northern the king had no rivals in wealth, or power, but, if a good monarch, was absolute in the united affection of his subjects; while, if bad, his power was annulled by universal hatred and contempt.

In Pikland, it is clear from the Chronicles, that

¹ Loccen. *Antiq. Sueo Goth.* p. 15. and Snorro, *passim*.

² Kanuti Magni, *Daniæ et Angliæ Regis, Leges Castrenses cap. X.* apud Suenon. Stephani, Soræ, 1642, 8vo.

³ Orat. Soræ, 1766, 4to.

⁴ *Ibid.*

there must have been a law, as in other countries above-mentioned, that the son should never succeed the father in the kingdom. We find brothers chosen to succeed brothers ; but never sons to succeed fathers. A grand reason for this was, the superior estimation of the female line ; for uterine brothers were of all heirs the surest, as both sprang of one mother. Any other heir in the female line was more distant from the fountain of royal blood. Another reason was, that for a son to succeed his father, would have been an usurpation of the rights of the other families of the Royal Race, who were all intitled to their turn of sovereignty, when next it by merit and by the female line. And another reason was, that the Piks, living in constant war and invasion of the Britons, they required to have always a sovereign leader of mature prudence, as well as valour ; whereas, in almost every case, the son of a deceased king would be young and inexperienced.

Fordun¹ has, with the consummate ignorance to be expected in a monk of the end of the fourteenth century, asserted, that the mode of *succession* among the Old Scots and Piks was similar ; namely, as he states, that if the son of the deceased king was young, his uncle or cousin succeeded ; and the son came in

¹ IV. 1. “ Quoniam et eis [Scotis] et Pictis, plerisque regnorum regibus etiam, et imperii quibusdam principibus, eadem succedendi lex erat ; ut regis scilicet cujusque decedentis frater, aut filius fratris, si filio regis ætate fuerat ac habilitate regendi potior, quamvis gradu remotior, ipsum præcederet ad regendum.” But Mr O’Flaherty and Mr O’Conor shew, that the kings and chiefs of Ireland were elected by the people out of particular races. The difference between them and the Piks lay chiefly in this, that the former preferred the male, the latter the female line. When the former was preferred, the election carries appearance of succession ; for nothing but some defect, which might not occur in many ages, could set aside the male heir. So in Denmark and Sweden, though elective kingdoms, down to last century, the son almost constantly succeeds the father.

on the death of such heir. He totally mistakes the case; for *election*, and not succession, was used in both nations. But the fact is, that the *succession*, as he calls it, among the old Scots, was wholly in the male line, as every one, the least versed in their history, must perceive at once: and though, as Fordun states, if the son was too young, his uncle, or cousin, was called to the throne, yet the son was never wholly set aside, as with the Piks, but succeeded in his turn. Thus when Fergus I. died, 506, Domangard his son succeeded; whom followed Congal, son of Domangard, then Gauran, brother of Congal, then Conal, son of Congal, &c. &c. &c. In Ireland this was also the exact case. And, so far was the female line from being preferred, that it was wholly cut out from the regal succession; as in other successions the law of gavelkind was universal, by which the sons shared equally, but the daughters were altogether thrown out.¹ This was a natural consequence of the contempt which the Celts had for the fair sex,² and still have; for we may still behold them stretched at their ease in their huts, and their poor women toiling, like beasts of burden, for their unmanly husbands.

Very different was the state of women among all the Gothic nations. The Goths, a wise, valiant, and generous race, almost adored their women; and endeavoured to compensate the delicate weakness, and numerous pains and infirmities of the sex, by tender attentions and cordial respect. Even among the

¹ Davis, O'Connor, &c.

² Aristot. Polit. II. 2. The Samoieds are remarkable for the same contempt of their women, whom they even regard as impure; and treat their wives with the utmost tyranny and brutality. Tooke's Russia, III. 25. They are also, like the Celts, remarkable for attention to clans, or breeds, *ibid.* And so are the Greenlanders, according to Crantz, who represents them as being as full of genealogies, as the Celts of Wales, Ireland, or Scotland.

Scythæ, or earliest Goths, we find this original fountain of modern gallantry. In Herodotus, Idanthyrus, a king of the Scythæ, answers Darius, that he knows of no superiors, save Jove, his progenitor, and Histia, the queen of the Scythæ, his own wife.¹ The Visigoths made daughters equal heirs with the sons. The Germans, as Tacitus² informs us, regarded women even with adoration, and admitted them to sovereignty equally with the other sex. The Sitones, ancestors of the present Swedes, were in his time ruled by a woman. Mr Mallet observes,³ “the northern nations did not so much consider the other sex, as made for pleasure, as to be their equals and companions, whose esteem, as valuable as their other favours, could only be obtained by constant attentions, by generous services, and by a proper exertion of virtue and courage.” In the early state of society courage was a virtue of as great importance in the fair sex as in the men; though in refined society an extreme delicacy and modesty are most esteemed, and every thing manly or forward justly regarded as blameworthy. Objects of our tender respect, they must not violate their own modest character by any manly office; for, when they descend to such, we see them become our equals, and drop our adoration; a female ceasing to be a goddess as soon as she steps from the sanctuary of timid and retired modesty. Such was also the opinion of the Greeks and Romans, nations of Scythic or Gothic origin, as fully displayed in the dissertation annexed. In their early history we find the women bold as the men; but in their advanced society, a timid modesty was their chief praise. Yet their women were ever free as nature made them; and not slaves, as our superficial theorists dream. Among

¹ Herodot. IV. 127.

³ Northern Ant. I. 314.

² Germania.

the early Goths, the women shared in the courage of the men. Ancient writers testify, that the Scythian women used often to proceed to battle, with their husbands and brothers. Scandinavian tradition preserves the names of Vegbiorga, Hetha, Visna, Ladgertha, Hervora, and other warlike ladies.¹ In Britain the name of Boadicea is illustrious. She was queen of the Icenî, of the Belgic or Gothic part of Britain.

Dr Stuart observes that, among the Franks, as well as the Anglo-Saxons, the queen shared in the government; and, among the former, there is the example of a queen who received a national homage. *Greg. Tur. Lib. IV.* Werburgh, queen of king Wightred, assisted at the Wittenagemot, or national council, held at Berghamsted. *Chr. Sax. p. 48.* Malmsbury, *Lib. II.* mentions a parliament held by king Edgar, in which he was assisted by his mother Alfgina: and Canute is said, in a national assembly, to have acted by the advice of queen Emma, and the bishops and nobility of England. *Mat. West. p. 423.* When the crown fell to a prince in his minority, the queen-mother had the guardianship. Thus Fredegund, of Clotarius II. Brunehild, of Theodebert, and Theoderic; and Balthildis, of Clotarius III. Let me add, that the Sarmatæ² were remarkable for devotion to

¹ Olaus Magnus. *Hervarar Saga*, &c. &c.

² Nicol. Damascen. in *Valesii Excerpt. p. 516.* Damascen. de morib. gent. The Amazons are shewn to have been Sarmatæ by M. Freret, *Mem. des Inscr. tome xxi.* but Herodotus says they married Scythæ; and learned the Scythic tongue, though they spoke it ill. Mela I. 24. mentions the *Mæotici γυναικονκρατορες*, or ruled by women. The Lycians were governed by women: *Heraclid. de Polit. Nicol. Damasc. ubi supra.* At Sparta women interfered much in the government. The Hurons, the most warlike of the Americans, are ruled by women: *Charlevoix, Let. 18.* It may move the reader's wonder that the most warlike nations should have this custom. Per-

their women ; and it is likely that the Peukini and Basternæ, who peopled Scandinavia, might partly derive this practice from them, as they were the extreme Goths who bordered on the Sarmatæ.

This respectful attention of the Goths to their women must be regarded as one great cause of the attachment of the Piks, a Gothic people, to the female line. The succession however did not run in this line : for, according to Beda, it was only preferred, *ubi res veniret in dubium*, when the matter was in doubt. But this *matter* was not the succession, but the election : as is clear from the context, and word, *eligerent*, “should ELECT,” as above explained. They who dream of hereditary succession of son to father among the Piks, only shew gross ignorance of the barbarous Gothic governments. The Goths in Italy, France, Spain, nay England, soon adopted the refined idea of modern succession. But it is in Germany and Scandinavia, and among the Eastern and Western *Getae*, the ancient and rude settlements of the Goths, as was also Pikland, that we must look for the model of the Pikish monarchy ; and we will find it elective, as shewn by Beda, and the Pikish Chronicles. They elected the ablest of the royal race ; but when doubt arose, from the equal abilities of the candidates, the most noble was chosen ; and this nobility was calculated by the female line. Some may incline to think that the above words of Beda, *ubi res veniret in dubium*, “when the matter was in doubt,” are superfluous, and that the succession was direct in the female line. But had this been the case, a child might have been king by indisputable right ; and Beda is not speaking

haps it may spring from their men disdaining all inferiority to each other ; though they find it necessary to have a ruler. We may therefore smile at Tacitus, who affects to despise the Sitones, because ruled by a woman. These barbarians would have scorned the Romans, the slaves of an emperor.

of a succession, but of an election, as is palpable from the context: and it is impossible, without wresting the passage, to give it any other interpretation than what is here shewn.

Before closing this consideration of the respect of the Piks for the female line, the following hints, collected by an ingenious writer,¹ may be produced. Tacitus tells us that, among the Germans, "the sons of sisters were equally regarded by the uncle as by the father." Hence it is, says Montesquieu, that our earliest historians speak in such strong terms of the love of the kings of the Franks for the children of their sisters. John de Laet remarks of the Brasilians, that they call their uncles and aunts *fathers* and *mothers*: and the same custom prevails among the North American Indians. Among the Hurons, says Charlevoix, with whom the dignity of chief is hereditary, the succession is continued through the women: so that, at the death of a prince, it is not his own but his sister's son who succeeds; and, in default of him, the nearest relation in the female line. The Ethiopians, says Damascenus, exhibit the greatest honour to their sisters; and the kings deliver the succession not to their own sons, but those of their sisters. These facts shew the early importance of the sex; and confirm the remark of Aristotle, that the Celts alone of all nations held their women in contempt. They, at the same time, evince that the preference given by the Piks to the female succession was not derived from a compact, entered into between them and the Scots, as Beda fables, but was a custom not unknown to other barbaric nations.

§ II. *The manner in which historic lists of kings have been preserved by tradition.* The names of the whole Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian kings pre-

¹ Dr Stuart, View of Society.

ceding the eleventh century, have been preserved by tradition only. This must also have been the case with the Pikish till the fifth century, when Christianity was received in the south of Pikland; and perhaps later. A short disquisition into the method of this tradition may not therefore be unnecessary.

The scalds, or bards of the Scandinavian nations, are well known. These scalds were not only the poets, but the historians and genealogists of the time. Having judgment enough to perceive that, in matters of succession and genealogy, the plain truth was the only object, they composed historic and genealogic songs, devoid of all ornament, and only valuable from their veracity. Containing barely names and years, a very short song commemorated the genealogy, or history, of many ages. The Chronicle of St Olaf^{*} says of a scald, *Oc taldi han longfedga till Semingh*, "And he computed the generations up to Seming." And again, *I tui kvedi ero uptalde XXX langfedga Rognwalls*, "In this song are enumerated the thirty generations of Rognwall." Considerable information concerning the historic poets may be found in the first volume of the History of Norway, by Torfæus, which for the sake of brevity shall not be here repeated. Snorro Sturleson tells us, in his preface, that Thiodolf, scald of Harald Harfagre, king of Norway in the tenth century, wrote historic songs to a petty monarch, Rognvald, in which the names, actions, and sepulchres, of thirty of his ancestors were declared. And that Eyvind, in his songs to Earl Haquin, gave a series of his ancestors. Snorro chiefly follows Thiodolf; and says, "Therefore we, in composing our history, generally follow the thread of those things which are commemorated in these songs; because the poets themselves used to repeat them in

^{*} Apud. Loccen. Ant. Sueo Goth. p. 90.

presence of the kings, and of their sons." The scald was one of the king's chief officers, and always of his council; and his chief employment was to compose the lives of kings, and histories of the kingdom. Mr Mallet has justly observed, that the preservation of genealogies was one great part of the scald's office. This method of composing history in verse was continued to late times. The most ancient work extant in the Swedish language, is an anonymous metrical chronicle written 1319. And our Winton wrote in the same manner about 1420.

But it was from the short historic song, repeated by the king's scald at coronations, that the most solemn and authentic evidence was derived. This song consisted merely of the names of the king's antecessors, woven into barren verse: and the grandeur of the occasion, and number of witnesses, made an high regard to veracity requisite. The king's scald was an envied office; and had he made any slip, many of his brethren would have been happy to expose it, in hopes of supplanting him by superior skill. It may easily be conceived that the uncommon mode of determining the nobility of the kings among the Piks, would render the preservation of genealogies absolutely necessary.

The computation by generations is in fact the very basis of all barbaric history. Even the early history of Greece and Rome depended on them. Sir Isaac Newton has, in his Chronology, remarked that "Phercydes the Athenian, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, or soon after, wrote of the antiquities, and ancient genealogies, of the Athenians, in ten books; and was one of the first European writers of this kind, and one of the best; whence he had the name of *Genealogus*; and by Dionysius Halicarnasseus is said to be second to none of the genealogers. Epimenides,

not the philosopher but an historian, wrote also of the ancient genealogies."

And as in the most early society genealogies are carefully preserved, so also the succession of kings. For, though elective kings cannot be given in a genealogic series, yet their names are commemorated with equal ease. And the importance of the list, and its solemn repetition upon great occasions, would naturally cause it to be preserved with the most sedulous attention.

§ III. *The Plan upon which the Chronology of our Pikish Monarchs is to be adjusted.* This is easily done from a noted passage of Beda, who informs us that the year of Christ, 565, was the ninth year of the reign of Brudi, son of Meilochon. His reign of course commenced in the year of Christ 557; and to this grand epoch all the other reigns can easily be referred, by means of their duration being marked in the catalogues. As for instance: Brudi began to reign 557 years after Christ; his predecessor Galan reigned two years, and of course began 555: and Brudi reigning thirty years, his successor Garnat began to reign in 587: and so on. The accession of Kenneth to the Pikish throne in 843; the death of Ungust in 761, the year of Drust, in which St Patrick went to Ireland, &c. are also epochs of the same use, had Beda lent no assistance.

By this calculation the year 412, about which time Nimian converted the Southern Piks, as appears also from Beda, just precedes the reign of Drust, the thirty-seventh of the Pikish kings. Of course with his reign commences a new and luminous period, as the Irish and Welsh churchmen who settled in Pikland used letters, and tradition is exchanged for historic authority. Now it is most remarkable, and must alone of itself afford conviction to every free mind of the veracity of our Pikish Chronicles, that with this

very Drust, under whom the light of Christianity appeared, ceases a fabulous circumstance of these chronicles, namely, the immoderate length of many of the reigns. For this Drust is said to have lived a hundred years, and fought a hundred battles; which is only a barbaric phrase for living very long, and fighting a prodigious number of battles: but AFTER him no reign exceeds thirty years. Whereas BEFORE him many of the reigns are fabulously long; owing to the natural uncertainty of tradition, and the wish of the scalds to increase the antiquity of the royalty. Thus Talorc, the immediate predecessor of this Drust, is marked to have reigned 75 years; and Garnat, predecessor of Talorc, 60. Nay, five of the others are put at 100 years each. But this fabulous length of the reigns totally vanishes when Christianity began.

In like manner the most ancient Persian kings have reigns of 800, or 1000 years.¹ Nay Torfæus,² in *re-forming* the history of Denmark, is so careless as to make Annus Grandævus live 210, and reign 190 years.

This grand and leading circumstance serves to divide the Pikish series into two parts. The FIRST of which contains the kings prior to Drust, and Christianity: the SECOND, those of the following period.

The FIRST part of the Pikish series cannot be admitted to direct historic faith. For though the epithets of the kings, and other minute, but important, marks, serve to establish its general authenticity; yet, as it stands on scaldic tradition alone, it would be rash to give this part as historic truth. The length of the reigns is palpably fabulous; and history is so averse from fable, that it dreads the least connection with it. But this part of the series stands on the

¹ Richardson on East. Lit.

² Series Reg. Dan. p. 233.

same scaldic ground, and is equally authentic with the accounts of Danish, Norwegian, or Swedish monarchs, preceding the tenth century. Of course it deserves attention; and if not fit for historic, is at least proper for poetical authority. When our history becomes studied and understood, many future poets may use these old kings with good effect. It will presently be shewn that the Pikish kingdom was confined to the Hebud Isles, till about the reign of Drust; if he indeed was not the monarch some of whose many battles established his authority over all the Piks. This part of the series therefore contains more properly the kings of the Hebud Isles, than of the Piks in general: but as the other Piks lived in democracy, as Dio shews, and this line of monarchs afterwards extended its power over them, it has also a claim to be regarded as belonging to the series of kings of Pikland. As the fabulous length of the reigns renders this part even unfit for the purposes of poetry, which loves verisimilitude, this may be easily amended in a veracious and mathematical manner. Sir Isaac Newton has justly observed, in perhaps the only laudable part of his Chronology, that the number of years assigned to the Roman kings from Romulus to Tarquin, the last of them, is most absurd; and finds, from the succession of all ancient and modern monarchies, that no series of princes reign at a medium above eighteen years each. Hence he takes 125 years from the antiquity of Rome; and supposes it founded 625 years before Christ. Nothing is more just than this; and the calculation is as infallible as any in arithmetic, or geometry. But Sir Isaac calculates from civilized monarchies, as the Roman also was, when he allows so much as eighteen years for a medium; and Mr Richardson justly observes, that he assigns too great a length to reigns of kings for his rule to be universal. For the Caliphs, from

the death of Mahomet to the sack of Bagdat, reigned little more than ten years each : and, even in a settled and civilized kingdom, the Greek emperors, from Zeno to the taking of Constantinople, have only fifteen years each. Sir Isaac indeed observes himself, that the successors of Alexander have but $15\frac{1}{4}$; and eighteen kings of Babylon only $11\frac{3}{4}$ years each. The longest is that of the kings of Judah, who have 22 : but 16 is at any rate the medium, even in polished and settled kingdoms ; and not 18, as Sir Isaac makes it. But in barbaric kingdoms the reigns are far more tumultuous and short. From 430 to 778, were no less than thirty kings of Ireland in succession, reigning at a medium but eleven years each. The heptarchic kings of England have little more ; those of Northumbria in particular almost the same. And among the Piks, a yet more ferocious people, it is evident, from the part of the series after Drust, that the kings hardly reigned eleven years each at a medium. There being also no reason to suppose that the early Pikish kings reigned longer than the others, it is matter of plain arithmetical calculation, to reduce the fabulous length of these reigns to verisimilitude. For if the last forty kings fill 429 years, the first thirty-six must fill 386. These 386 years, calculated back from 414, the beginning of Drust's reign, fix the reign of Cruthen, and commencement of the Pikish monarchy, to the twenty-eighth year after Christ's birth. And, as the years of these first thirty-six kings, as they stand, amount to no less than 1548, of which 386, the just space, is almost exactly a quarter, if we put down the reign of each king at one quarter of its pretended duration, we shall attain every degree of verisimilitude necessary for poetry, or perhaps attainable in such kind of history. This plan is accordingly followed in digesting the FIRST part of this series.

The SECOND part requires no assistance ; being

quite uniform, complete, and historic. The years of the reigns are taken ONLY from the invaluable Pikish Chronicle, No. V. which also agree with the Irish Nennius, save in one or two instances. Winton gives no years of reigns ; but only the names. The years in the two other monuments, Fordun, and the Register of St Andrew's, are almost perpetually erroneous ; and, contradicting contemporary Irish and English authors, deserve no credit whatever. These two chronicles, being also mutilated, and perverted, by Scottish transcribers, only merit attention as collateral proofs of the Pikish series. The SOLE error in the number of years given by the Pikish Chronicle, No. V. belongs to Kiniod, son of Luthrin ; who, in the publication by Innes in his Appendix, has but xi years, while the Irish Nennius gives him xix. Innes also gives him 19 in his Series of Pikish Kings, vol. I. p. 134, without even hinting that the chronicle bore xi ; though he be most exact in all the others : which leads to a conclusion that xi is a mere error of the press in Innes's Appendix, the last x of xix being omitted. That xix is the just number is undoubted from the whole chronicle, and its collateral proofs ; but whether the x be omitted by Innes's printer, by a transcriber, or in the original MS., it must equally be a bare omission, and a most pardonable one. For numbers, as all know, are very apt to be corrupted in old MSS. and that in so many numbers but one little x should slip out, is rather a miracle of accuracy, than matter of blame.

In spelling¹ the names I have compared the five catalogues, and taken that which seemed most uniform and proper, sparing no pains to render the

¹ The names of English heptarchic kings are as variously spelled as the Pikish, hardly two old authors agreeing in orthography of names.

spelling, I have followed, the most neat, and fit, so that it might ever remain, and be generally followed, as it is humbly hoped it will be approved. These names being absolute Gothic, the genius of that language has been followed: but the various old spellings carefully given, with the following initials for the sake of brevity; A. is the Pikish Chronicle, No. V; B. The Register of St Andrew's; C. Winton; D. Fordun; E. The Irish Nennius; of which the part published by Lynch only begins with Brudi 557.

CHAPTER VIII.

Catalogue of the Pikish Kings.

THE Piks, proceeding from Scandinavia about 300 years before Christ, as above shewn, would, in their voyage toward North Britain, first arrive at the Orkneys, a barren and desert tract, which they would despise. That these isles were uninhabited about the year 240 after Christ, is mentioned by Solinus. And it seems that the Piks left no settlement there; but proceeded along the northern coast of Scotland; which finding bleak, mountainous, and forbidding, and probably at that time a continued forest of black pines, echoing to the northern breeze, they coasted along till they discovered the green vales of Ireland. These tempted their approach; but perceiving that fine island too large and populous for their armament, and the people prepared to withstand them, they stood over for the Hebud Isles, which, from their comparative smallness, gave room to hope for better success. Here they accordingly effected a settlement, that was in the course of a century or two to spread all over North Britain; the Cumri being driven before their arms, first from the Hebud Isles, where names of places shew their ancient possessions: then from the northern and western parts, so liable to attacks from these isles; and lastly from the east and south.

That this was the Pikish progress is clear from Beda and Nennius. The first of whom mentions their going first to Ireland, whence they stood over to the

opposite tracts of Britain. Nennius says they first seized on the Orkneys; but Solinus shews that, if they did so, they soon abandoned them; and Nennius himself adds, that it was not from the Orkneys, but the neighbouring isles, *ex insulis affinitimis*, that they invaded and subdued the north of Britain. These neighbouring isles could only be the Hebudes; and Beda's relation of their passing from Ireland over to Britain fully confirms this. The usual tract of the Norwegians afterward was quite similar. They passed the Orkneys, and north of Scotland; and proceeded to Ireland, or the west of Scotland. The Orkneys were inhabited in the reign of Brudi, 565; for Adomnan mentions a *regulus*, or prince of the Orkneys, at the court of Brudi. The Piks had, to all appearance, thought proper to seize and possess them about the fourth century; when the Roman arms confined them on the south; and that the Norwegians, when they seized these isles in the ninth century, found them possessed by the Piks, shall be afterward shewn. But Solinus mentions them as desert when he wrote, or about the year 240, while he describes a kingdom in the Hebudes. All these circumstances so exactly correspond, that there is no room left to doubt, but that the Hebudes were the first possessions of the Piks, and those from whence they subdued North Britain.¹

The Piks, like other colonies, and early societies, would long be strangers to kings. Divided into small communities, as circumstances ordered, they would only chuse one leader in times of common danger. But in such societies, as not refined enough for regular and permanent republics, which depend on intricate laws and regulations, the kingly power always

¹ The name *Hebudes* seems derived from *Ey*, an isle, and *bud* or *buth*, a habitation, as *Orcades* from *Ork*, a desert. *Hebrides* is a corruption of Hector Boethius, from an erroneous edition of Solinus.

creeps in by degrees. And it was most natural that this power should first be known to the first settlement, where the society would have first passed through the previous stages. Accordingly there is reason to believe, that the kingly name and power were known to the Piks of the Hebud Isles, four centuries before they extended over the rest. This appears from the series of Pikish monarchs, which goes back to twenty-eight years after Christ; and from Solinus, who describes the Hebudian monarchy about 240; while it is clear from Tacitus, Dion, and Ammianus, that this monarchy extended not over the other Piks of Caledonia. Tacitus gives no hint of Caledonia's being under one monarch, though so singular a circumstance could not have escaped him. Nay, he shews that it was not; for he mentions that its states had formed an alliance for the common defence, and Galgacus was only the most noble, and able, of the leaders. Dion mentions, that the states of Caledonia were chiefly democratical. Ammianus Marcellinus tells, that so late as the year of Christ 368, the Piks were divided into two nations, the Dicaledones and Vecturiones; so that it seems reasonable to infer that these two nations had different governments. The former, or Dicaledones, were the Northern Piks, beyond the Grampian hills; who, having intimate and immediate connection with the Hebud Isles, had, it is likely, before this acknowledged the authority of the ancient Hebudian Royal Race. The Vecturiones were still in all probability under democratic government. If conjecture may for once be allowed, where proof must ever be wanting, Drust, who succeeded in 414, was the first sovereign of all the Piks. Certain it is, that in 565 we find Brudi king of all the Piks, without any hint of the monarchy being new: while in 368 it seems certain that the Piks had no universal king; so that the fifth century forms the medium. And Drust is mentioned as

so great and warlike a prince, that he seems the most likely to have accomplished this extension of power. The Pikish monarchy therefore commenced in the Hebudes, about 28 years after Christ. The Dicalledones, or Northern Piks, seem to have been wearied out with democratic dissention ; and to have acknowledged the sovereignty of this ancient Royal Race, about 300 years after Christ. This accession of power seems to have enabled the monarch, after many conflicts, to extend his dominion over the Southern Piks about 430. And as this account alone can reconcile all authorities, it seems as true, as it is natural and easy.

Solinus, who wrote about the year 240, has given us curious information concerning the Hebudian monarchy. He says ; “ There are five Hebudes ; their inhabitants are ignorant of grain. They live solely on fish and milk. One king commands all ; for these isles are divided from each other only by narrow channels. The king has nothing of his own ; but all his effects belong to all. He is bound to equity by certain laws ; and, lest avarice should turn him from the truth, he learns justice from poverty ; having nothing of his own, but being nourished by the public. No wife is given to him, but he takes any woman he likes in her turn ; whence neither the wish nor hope of children is allowed to him. Next are the Orkneys, in number thirty-three, desert of men, and having no woods. A few reedy plants are found ; the rest is rock, and barren sand.”¹ The five He-

¹ Solin. Polyh. c. 25. Inde excipiunt Hebudes insulæ, quinque numero : quarum incolæ nesciunt fruges, piscibus tantum et lacte vivunt. Rex unus est universis : nam quotquot sunt omnes angusta interluvje dividuntur. Rex nihil suum habet ; omnia universorum. Ad æquitatem certis legibus stringitur : ac, ne avaritia divertat a vero, discit paupertate justitiam ; utpote cui nihil sit rei familiaris, verum alitur e publico. Nulla illi datur fœmina propria : sed per vicissitudines, in quamcunque commotus fuerit, usurariam sumit. Unde ei nec votum, nec spes conceditur liberorum.

budes here mentioned are doubtless the five Ebudæ of Richard, namely, *Lewis, Skey, North Vist, South Vist, and Col with Tirey*. Ptolemy also calls them Εβουδαί, *Ebudæ*. That this very curious description belongs to the Pikish monarchy in the Hebudes, there is little room to doubt. The old Scots, or Irish, had no settlement in these isles till four or five centuries after this; and in 565 we find Hyona, or Icolmhill, belonged to the Piks, for the Pikish king gave it to Columba. If an isle so far south, and so near Ireland, was then in the Pikish possession, much more must the Ebudæ have been. That the Piks seized on the Hebud Isles, at the very first, is clear from Beda and Nennius, as above stated. The description indeed is quite foreign to the manners of the Welsh, or the Irish; and can only quadrate with the Pikish monarchy. The part concerning the king's want of peculiar children, is most singular; and quite coincides with the Pikish succession, in which no son of a king ever ascends the throne.

It may not be improper to give some hints concerning the Pikish names. Many end in *ust*; and if the reader peruses the dissertation annexed, he will find that the Persians were the oldest Scythæ, or Goths, from whom the rest sprung, and it is remarkable that different Persian names have the same close, as *Zer-dust*, the Persian name of Zoroaster. Nay *Drust*, a common Pikish name, is also Persian, and implies *Sincerus*, "Sincere:" according to Hyde, *Religio Vet. Pers.* p. 383, edit. 1760, where the reader will find many instances of Teutonic words in the Persian, p. 439. *Ke* or *Key*, a Pikish king's name, is also Persian; *Key Gustasp*, Hystaspes the Illustrious. *Ibid.* and Jones's Nadir Schah. Many begin in *Ver*, as the Scandinavian Gothic reads; or *Wer*, as the German and Persian (for the Persians have W, which the Turks and Tartars have not, but pronounce it V.)

This is also Gothic. *Vergobret*, the name of a magistrate among the German Gauls, as Cæsar tells, is pure German. *Verg*, or *Vergen*, to render justice. *Obret*, or *Obrest*, first, or chief. Pelloutier. Junii Batavia, p. 669. *Wer*, a man, Franc. & Anglo-Belg. whence *Weregild*, satisfaction for killing a man. *Vercingetorix*, a German Gaul, in Cæsar. *Veremund*, a Gothic king of Spain. *Vermund*, of Denmark. *Brudi* may be from *brudeln*, Old Germ. *æstuar*e, to rage; Wachter. In Scandinavia the name was sometimes spelt *Prudi*, and sometimes *Brudi*, Worm. Mon. Dan. where, p. 198, *Brudu* is the genitive. Scandinavian names in *i* are common, *Frothi*, *Helghi*, *Frokni*, *Uffi*, &c. *Sueno* Hist. Dan. *Vali Sterki*, *Islands Landnama*, p. 71. *Bili* is sometimes spelt *Vile*, as *Edda* fab. 3. sometimes *Bele*, as a king's name in *Dissert. de Ant. Sueciæ* (De Vikingis.) In Scandinavian, are also *Tungu* (or *Tenegus*.) *Torf. Norv. Hængus* ib. and *Ungu*, a Danish king, *Langebek* I. 15. (Ungust.) *Galgacus* is apparently from *Galagian*, collocare, ponere, or *Galisan*, colligere, congregare, *Lye Dict. Gothico Sax.* both alluding to generalship. *Uven*, or *Owen*, one of the last Pikish kings, is also Gothic. *Owen* a Swedish name, *Stiernhelm. Anti-Cluver.* p. 44. *Owen*, inimicus, *Rudbeck. Atl.* vol. I. *Owen Giedde*, Danish, *Pontopp. Gesta Dan.* vol. I. Old Pikish names are also found in Scotland at a late æra. *Fordun* mentions a *Cruthe*, or *Cruthen*, *de Angus*: *Gartnach Comes*, or *Earl Garnat*, is witness to a charter of *Alex. I.* *Spottiswood Monast. Scot. MS.* vol. I.

Add from the dictionaries of Wachter, Ihre, Lye, the following hints. *Kineoch*, or *Kenneth*, may be from *Kene*, *acer*, and *od*, *præstans*. *W. Garnat* from *Gare*, Old English *Yare*, *promptus*. *L.* or *Gard*, *regnum*: *I. Alpin* from *Alp*, *dæmon*: the Scandinavian is *Alfwin*: *Olafi cum Alfoinio vel Alpino othleta duel-*

lum: Gunlaug's Saga, p. 92. *Cruthen* from *Cruth*, a crowd. *Tharan* from *Thor*, *fortis*. *Domel*, or *Donel*, or *Donel*, from *Doma*, *judicare*. *Bliki* from *Blia*, *intentis oculis aspicere*. *Uscombuts* from *Uskott*, *selectus*. *Brudi* from *Brod*, pronounced *Bruid*, *cuspis*, *aculeus*. *Ungust* from *Ung*, *juvenis*; *gunst*, *gratia*, *favor*. Some ending in *bust*, from *busa*, *cum impetu ferri*, *irruere*. *Talorc* from *Tall*, *pinus*. In Gothic, as in Latin, C is always pronounced K, whatever vowel follows; and the E at the end is always sounded, as in all languages but the English, which, like the Attic, is fond of abbreviation: thus *Brude* is sounded *Brudé*; except only where many consonants meet, when the final *e* is sometimes sounded *euphoniæ causa*, before the last consonant, as *Cruthne*, *Cruthen*; *hafne*, *hafen*, &c. To assist the pronunciation K is generally used for C, as it is in the Scandinavian: and *i* for *e* at the end, according to the same idiom.

Let us now proceed to the Catalogue of Pikish monarchs digested in chronological succession.

Part I. POETICAL. *From the Foundation of the Monarchy, about the Year of Christ 28, till the Reign of Drust the Great, 414.*

1. CRUTHEN son of Kinni, A. C. 28. (*Cruidne fil. Cinge*, A. *Crutheus fil. Kinne*, B. *Cruthne*, C. *Cruythne*, D. the *n* and *ne* in Gothic are, after a consonant, pronounced *en*, as *rafn*, *rafen*, &c. so in English *le*; *able*, *abel*, &c.) first king of the Piks, reigned 25 years. From him the Irish, who delighted in patronymics, called the Piks Cruitnich. So the Romans call the Parthians *Arsacidæ* from *Arsaces*. Kinni if read as in the Pikish Chronicle *Cinge* (pronounce *Kinghé*) assimilates with *Cinge-torix*, a Belgic, or German name in *Cæsar*, Lib. V.

2. KIRCU, A. C. 53. This king, and the thirteen following, are only found in the Pikish Chronicle, No. V. the others being castrated by Scottish transcribers, in order to reduce the period of the Pikish monarchy, as before mentioned. Kircu, and his six successors, are called sons of Cruthen in the Pikish Chronicle, because they were his immediate descendants. He reigned 15 years.

3. FIDACH, A. C. 68, reigned 10 years.

4. FORTREIM, A. C. 78, reigned 18 years.

5. FLOCLAID, A. C. 96, reigned 8 years.

6. GOT, A. C. 104, reigned 3 years. *Guta*, a man's name, Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 264. *Guth*, bellum : Lye. *Got*, good.

7. KE, A. C. 107, reigned 3 years. These short names are peculiarly ancient Gothic. *Ve* was the name of a brother of Odin. Edda. Fab. 3.

8. FIVAID, A. C. 110, reigned 6 years.

9. GEDEOL, *Gudach*, A. C. 116, reigned 20 years. *Gudach* is godlike, from the Gothic *Guda*, *Dii*, the gods. See Lye Dict. Sax. Goth.

10. DENBACAN, A. C. 136, reigned 25 years.¹

11. OLFINECTA, A. C. 161, reigned 15 years.

12. GUIDID, *Gaed-brecah*, A. C. 176, reigned 12 years. *Gaed* is socius ; *bræcan*, frangere ; Lye. *Bræc-ka*, frangere ; Ihre : whence the epithet means either a breaker of friendships, or of conspiracies.

13. GESTGURTICH, A. C. 188, reigned 10 years.

14. WURGEST, A. C. 198, reigned 10 years. *Nornagest*, a man's name in Thorlac. Spec. Ant. Bor. *Gast*, or *Gest*, Sapiens, Junii Bat. p. 182.

15. BRUDI I. *Bout*, A. C. 208, reigned 12 years. This is the first of the Brudis, variously spelled *Bru-deus*, *Bridius*, &c. but Brudi is the real Gothic name,

¹ If we believe Irish history, the Pikish king about 137 assisted Tuathal Techtmur to recover his throne, which was usurped by Elim. Wynne's Hist. of Irel. p. 62. vol. I.

as appears from a Runic monument given by Wormius, Mon. Dan. p. 198. *Bout* is *the wounded*, (*Bott, ictus*. Wachter). Under this king the Pikish Chronicle tells us that his descendants ruled in Ireland for the space of a hundred and fifty years. It mentions *thirty*, but gives the names of only *twenty-eight* in a most singular manner, the name of every second prince being barely that of his predecessor, with *UR* prefixed; thus, *Pant, Urpant; Mund, Urmund; &c.* If the author was a forger, he was certainly the most weak that ever tried the trade; for this must, at first glance, appear to every eye an impossible absurdity. But the fact is, that this very part offers a very simple, but most strong, proof of the veracity of this Chronicle. *Ur*, in the Persian, Old Scythian, Gothic,¹ implies *Illustrious, Chief, &c.* and was an epithet naturally given to kings. Our ignorant transcriber finding this epithet formally repeated to each name, by some solemnity used in the coronation song, or from some singular respect paid to this succession of kings, as possessors of a daring conquest in the midst of foes, was misled by it. Thus suppose an old list of these kings thus written: *Pant v. Urpant; Leo v. Urleo; Gant v. Urgant, &c. &c.* that is, *Pant vocatus Urpant, Leo vocatus Urleo, &c.* Pant called Urpant, or Pant called the Illustrious Pant; Leo called the Illustrious Leo; Gant the Illustrious Gant, &c. a list, from some special respect or solemnity, so ordered, might easily mislead an ignorant transcriber, who did not know that the *Ur* was only an epithet solemn-

¹ *Ur*: Gothi, Franci, et Alemanni, habent *Ur*; Saxones *Or*, significatus suos accepit partim ab *ar*; principium, &c. . . . *Ur*, Adverb. ordinis, significans principatum in existendo et sperando: inde *Urwesen*, *essentia primitiva*; *Urbild*, *archetypus*, &c. *Ar*, *Or*, *Ur*, principium, Græcis *αρχη*, Latin. *origo*. Wachter Gloss.—*Or*, *Ord*, Cimb. *Ar*, et *Ard*, initium, principium, origo, auctor. Lye Dict. Chaucer has twice *ord* and *end*, for beginning and end. But see Richardson, &c. as the Persian.

ly repeated with the name of each king. This idea is confirmed by the number of kings, which amounting to twenty-eight, by this mistaken reckoning, could not have reigned less than ten years each, at a medium, or 280 years ; whereas the fourteen, to which we reduce them, would, at the usual rate of the Pikish reigns, of about eleven years each, just fill 154 years, as 150 is the round number given in the Chronicle. That the Piks had a settlement in the north of Ireland, is clear from Adomnan, Jocelin, Usher, O'Connor, &c. and the following fourteen kings, mentioned in this Chronicle, must have reigned there.

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>Pant.</i> | 8. <i>Fec.</i> |
| 2. <i>Leo.</i> | 9. <i>Ru.</i> |
| 3. <i>Gant.</i> | 10. <i>Gart.</i> |
| 4. <i>Guith.</i> | 11. <i>Kinit.</i> |
| 5. <i>Fekir.</i> | 12. <i>Inp.</i> |
| 6. <i>Cal.</i> | 13. <i>Grid.</i> |
| 7. <i>Cuit.</i> | 14. <i>Mund.</i> |

As they all descended from Brudi, they all bore his name, as the Arsacidæ of Persia, &c. &c. with the adjunct of *Ur*, or Illustrious : thus *Brudi Ur Pant*, *Brudi Ur Leo*, *Brudi Ur Gant*, &c. and so the Chronicle calls them, though misled by the *Ur*, as above stated. This Pikish monarchy in Ireland, though it continued only 150 years, under the house of Brudi, yet lasted, under other kings, even till the conquest of Ireland by the Danes in the ninth century ; as appears from Tighernac, the Annals of Ulster, &c. Adomnan mentions a king of the Crutheni, or Piks in Ireland, called *Echuvislaid*, and mentions his flying in his chariot, from the battle of Ondemone in Ireland, fought about 570. Mr O'Connor, in the map of Ireland prefixed to his Dissertations, places the Cruitnidi, or Piks, in the north of that island, and gives another settlement of them in Galway. He also tells us that he finds, from the old book of Glen-

dalogh, that there were some tribes of Cruitnidi in Ulster, and in Conaught. It is almost unnecessary to add that this Pikish kingdom in Ireland must have been small; and the size of this kingdom may be guessed from this, that Ireland was in these early times divided into no less than twenty-one such kingdoms. But of this kingdom in next chapter.

After Brudi I. the chief Scottish castration ceases; and most of the following kings are found in all the Chronicles. No doubt the nominal Scots, who knew the Irish origin of the real Scots, as well as we do the passage of the English to New England in America, could not bear that the Piks, their nominal enemies, but their real fathers, should boast of any conquest in Ireland; so the extension of the castration to Brudi I. was matter of course.

16. GILGIDI, A. C. 220, reigned 25 years. (*Gilgidi*, A. *Gedé*, B. *Gedé*, C. *Ghedé*, D.)

17. THARAN. I. A. C. 245, reigned 25 years. (*Tharan*, A. B. D. *Caran*, C. The names in Winton [C.] are the most corrupt of all; the old $\mathfrak{C}$, T, he often reads $\mathfrak{G}$, G, or $\mathfrak{C}$, C, thus Galarg for Talarg, &c.)

18. MORLEO, A. C. 270, reigned 3 years. (*Morleo*, A. rest wanting.)

19. DEOKIL, *Lunon*, A. C. 273, reigned 10 years. (*Deocilunon*, A. *Duthil*, B. C. D.) This abridgement of the name shews *Lunon* to be an epithet. *Lun*, *egenus*, poor. Lye. *Lunnon*, *incertæ significationis vox*, ap. *Cædmon*, 73. 10.

20. KIMOIOD, son of Arcois, A. C. 283, reigned 2 years. (*Cimoiod filius Arcois*. A. wanting in the rest. Fordun has in his place *Dinorthetisy*.)

21. DEOORD, A. C. 285, reigned 12 years. (*Deoörd*, A. *Duordechel*, B. *Duordechal*, D. *Wergetel*, C.)

22. BLIKI, *Blitirth*, A. C. 297, reigned 1 year.

(*Bliciblitirth*, A. rest wanting.) The epithet seems *Blitheheort*, glad. Lye.

23. DECTOTERIC, A. C. 298, reigned 10 years. (*Dectoteric frater Diu*, A. *Decotheth*, B. *Decothat*, C. *Decokheth*, D.) This name, like the rest, is quite Gothic, as Theoderic, &c.

24. USCONBUTS, A. C. 308, reigned 7 years. (*Usconbuts*, A. the others, omitting the first syllable, have *Combust*.) Perhaps *Ur Combust*.

25. CARVORST, A. C. 315, reigned 10 years. (*Carvorst*, A. the rest swell the name to *Caranathrecht*, B. *Caranacait*, C. *Caranathreth*, D.)

26. DEOAR, *Tavois*, A. C. 325, reigned 5 years. (*Deoartavois*, A. rest wanting.) The epithet may be from *Tawian*, *colere terram*, (Lye,) because he first perhaps introduced agriculture.

27. VIST, A. C. 330, reigned 12 years. (*Uist*, A. rest wanting.) There are two of the Hebud Isles, called North *Vist*, and South *Vist*.

28. RU, A. C. 342, reigned 25 years. (*Ru*, A. rest wanting.) This name, like all the rest, is Gothic: *Roe* is the seventh king of Denmark. *Ruric*, a Scandinavian, first king of Russia.

29. GARNAT I. *Boc*. A. C. 367, reigned 1 year. (*Gartnoithboc*, A. *Gernath Bolg*, B. *Garnaird Bolg*, C. *Garnath Bolger*, D.) If *Boc* be the epithet, it is *Boc*, *Cervus*, *Wachter*; *Bock*, *Caper*, *Ihre*. The Stag, the Buck, from his swiftness. If *Bolg*, or *Bolger*, it means, The Angry: *Bolgenmod*, *iracundus*. Lye. The Pikish Chronicle observes, *a quo Garnait*, "from whom the name of Garnat." And we accordingly find several other kings of this name.

30. VERE, A. C. 368, reigned 2 years. (*Vere*, A. rest wanting.)

31. BRETH, A. C. 370, reigned 2 years. (*Breth*, A. rest wanting.)

32. VIPOIG, *namet*, A. C. 372, reigned 7 years.

(*Vipoignamet*, A. *Umpopenemet*, B. *Wypopmet*, C. *Wypopneth*, D.) *Nam* is *captus*, The prisoner: but *namet* may be derived from *nam*, a name, see Lye and Wachter; and may imply famous, renowned.

33. CANUT, *Ulac-hama*, A. C. 379, reigned 1 year. (*Canutulachama*, A. *Canatulmel*, B. *Enalculmel*, C. *Canatulmel*, D.) This name alone would sufficiently mark the whole series Gothic. Who knows not the Canuts of Denmark? *Ula-hama*, Hairy-skin, or Hairy-mantle; a simple antique epithet like the others, and like *Bla-tang*, Blue-tooth, and others of Danish, and Swedish, and Norwegian kings. *Ulah*, *Villus*, *floccus*, Lye. *Ulohlic*, *villosus*. *Hama*, *cutis*, *tegmen*, Id. *Ul*, *lana*. Ihre.

34. WRADECH, *Vechta*, A. C. 380, reigned 1 year. (*Wradech vechla*, A. *Frachna Albus*, B. *Fathna*, C. *Frachna Albus*, D.) Thus we learn that the epithet implies *Albus*, The White; as *Vechta* is near enough to our word, *White*, to shew its being Gothic.

33. GARNAT II. *di Uber*, A. C. 381, reigned 15 years. (*Garnaich di uber*, A. *Garnat Dives*, B. *Garnard Dives*, D.) Thus *di Uber* is interpreted The Rich; and accordingly *di* is Gothic, German, for *the*, and *Uber* is *nota abundantiae*, Wachter.

36. TALORC I. son of Achivir, A. C. 396, reigned 18 years. *Talore*, A. *Talarg*, B. *Thalorger*, D.) The name seems from *Talian*, *dicere*, *Tal*, *sermo*, Lye; The Speaker, the Commander.

Here ends the First Part, which itself has amazing marks of authenticity, and approaches nearer to history than poetry. The correspondence even of the mutilated chronicles is striking; and would, with a Scaliger, or a Petavius, men of the most rigid judgment, have been sufficient to stamp historic faith upon the whole. It must not be forgot that Fordun, though he omits no less than 21 real kings, has 5 superfluous ones, not in our Chronicle. The Register of

St Andrew's omits 20 real, and gives 2 superfluous. Winton, though quite careless, so as to omit 23 real kings, has yet two superfluous.

These supernumerary kings seem to have been rebels and usurpers; and therefore rejected in the genuine Pikish Chronicle, which bears the exact number of 70 kings prior to Constantin, as mentioned in the old Irish Annals, and so many collateral and intrinsic marks of authenticity, that it must ever be regarded as the sole standard. Fordun's five superfluous kings are:

1. *Blare Hassereith*, whom he places next after *Vi-poig*, the 32d king, and who may have been an usurper, or rebel, whose power might be acknowledged where the chronicle copied by Fordun was written.

2. *Thalarger Amfrud*, who in Fordun follows the 34th king, *Wradech Vechta*. A mere mistake, in transcribing from a catalogue in double columns, for this *Thalarger fil. Amfrud* was the 56th king, whom see.

3. *Dungard Netheles*. This king the Register of St Andrew's also has; but spelled *Dinornacht Netalic* (*Netalic, bestius similis, Lye.*) Winton calls him *Demortemach Neteles*.

4. *Peredach, son of Fingel*. This king also occurs in the three authors, Fordun, the Register of St Andrew's, and Winton. The Register calls him *Feodak Finleg*. Winton *Fourdauch Fyngiel*.—These two follow the 34th king also; and might be usurpers.

5. *Hungus, son of Fergoso*. This king is a mere forgery of the priests of St Andrew's, as appears from the Excerpts of the Priory Register,* and supported by Fordun, the notorious father of 45 Scottish princes. He was fabricated because a Hungus had founded St Andrew's about 825; and its priests

* In Bibl. Harl. It calls him *Hungus fil. Ferlon*.

wanted to pass Regulus for its founder in the fourth century, so forged this Hungus to make the forgery plausible, as Fordun forged a Fergus I. because Fergus son of Erc founded the Scottish monarchy. He places this Hungus after Garnat the Rich ; and tells in different places long fables concerning him and Regulus.

End of Part First.

Part II. HISTORICAL. *From the Reign of Drust the Great, 414, till that of Kenneth, 843.*

The Pikish monarchy, anciently confined to the Hebud Isles, was by degrees extended over the north-west of Pikland, or present Scotland ; and Drust, who begins this series, seems to have employed some of his many battles in spreading it over all Pikland. For in the next century we find that Beda mentions Brudi II. as king of all the Piks, without any hint that the title was new. The reign of Drust is remarkable, and illustrious, in many respects ; from Christianity being established among the southern Piks in, or just before his time ; from the rude praise, that he fought a hundred battles ; from the frequent incursions of the Piks, and their seizing on Valentia, when the Romans left the island. Hence the epithet of Great seems his due ; and is often given with less cause.

For no less than TWENTY-SIX reigns, after this, the whole FOUR Chronicles agree in names, and generally in years. And the Fourteen last of these Twenty-six are also supported by two other authorities, the list in the Irish Nennius, and the Annals of Tighernac ;—a coincidence which, were they different forgeries, as they all differ in other points, would be wholly inconceivable.

37. DRUST the Great, A. C. 414, reigned 38 years. (*Drust filius Erp*, A. *Drust fil. Urb*, B. *Drust fil. Ir-bii*, D. *Drust*, C.) *Dursta* is the name in Runic inscriptions. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 277. The Pikish Chronicle says it was in the sixth year of Drust's reign, that St Patrick went to Ireland. Usher shews that it was in 432 that event happened; which forms a fixt epoch for the commencement of this reign. Drust is said to have fought an hundred battles, that is, a great number; many of them perhaps to establish his authority over the Southern Piks; and many, no doubt, against the Britons and Romans, the latter of whom left the island. Conn, a king of Ireland, is also called of the Hundred Battles. Otulfax, a king of Norway, is said to have fought ninety battles, and thirteen duels, and to have lived 130 years. Torfæi Norweg. vol. I. p. 220.¹

38. TALORC II. A. C. 452, reigned 4 years. (*Talore filius Aniel*, A. *Talarg fil. Amil*, B. *Golarg Mak Amyl*, C. *Thalarger fil. Amyle*, D.) Winton, for the sake of his verse, uses *Mak* for *son of*, as the Irish; though he oftener uses *son* at the end, as Brude Bili-son, &c.

39. NETHAN I. *Morbet*, A. C. 456, reigned 25 years. (*Necton Morbet filius Erp*, A. *Nethan Thelcamot*, B. *Nectan Kellemot*, C. *Nectan Thaltamoth*, D.) *Moer, celebris, famosus*: *Beta, pascere*; *jungere equos currui*; *incitare, instigare*: *Ihre*. The other epithet may be from *Telning, surculus*; and *Kam, apex, vertex*: Id. as being chief branch of his family. The

¹ During this reign the Jutes came to England; and Geoffrey of Monmouth says the Piks of Vortigern's guard called them in! Gale, in his notes to Nennius, thinks Vortigern himself a Pik, *Ego suspicor Guortigernum fuisse genere Pictum vel Scytham, qui Pictorum ope ad regnum pervenerit*. A wise suspicion no doubt! but when will English history begin to be treated with the same accurate severity as the Greek, or Roman?

Pikish Chronicle tells at some length his founding of Abernethy, (which, by that account, was dedicated to St Bridget,) in the third year of his reign, or 458; and calls him the great king of all the provinces of the Piks. Usher shews that some date Bridget's *birth* in 439, others in 450, which would contradict this account. Bridget certainly died about 520;¹ for, such was the spirit of the times, that we have more certainty about saints, than any thing else. She was in extreme old age when she died. But in no shape could this foundation take place in the third year of Nethan's reign; nor could a church be dedicated to Bridget in her life-time. So that this is a mere ecclesiastic fable; and it is surprising that Innes should have passed in silence so palpable an anachronism.

The Register of St Andrew's dates the foundation of Abernethy in the reign of Nethan II. son of Urb, or, as others, nephew of Erb; so that he might be mistaken for the brother of Drust, son of Erp. For-dun says Garnat, predecessor of Nathan II. founded Abernethy: to which Winton assents. As the Register of St Andrew's is a far better authority than For-dun, it seems reasonable to think that Abernethy was really founded by Nethan II. about the year 600. And that he, being also son of an Erp, as was Nethan I. an error crept into the Pikish Chronicle; or rather an ecclesiastic fraud of the religious of Abernethy, in order to enhance their own antiquity. Beda mentions that Naiton, or Nethan III. king of the Piks in 715, desired architects from the Angles of Northumberland to build a church of stone. I confess, it seems to me that this was the period of the foundation of Abernethy: but perhaps a wooden fabric might have been reared by Nethan II. However

¹ See Usher Ant. Eccl. Brit. p. 459, from Marianus Scotus; the Annals of Ulster, &c.

Nethan I. is out of the question ; and the veracity of our Chronicle is here violated for once, by that grand falsifier of all Chronicles, ecclesiastic fraud.

40. DRUST II. *Gurthinmoch*, A. C. 481, reigned 30 years. (*Drest Gurthinmoch*, A. *Drust Gormot*, B. C. *Durst Gorthnoth*, D.) The epithet seems from *Gurten*, *cingere* ; *Moge*, *potens*, *Wachter* ; *with the strong girdle*.

41. GALAN I. *Avetelich*, A. C. 511, reigned 12 years. (*Galan Avetelich*, A. *Galam*, B. C. *Galaam*, D.) *Awita*, *amens*, *Ihre : lich*, *similis*.

42. DADRUST, A. C. 523, reigned 1 year (*Dadrest*, A. wanting B. C. *Durst*, D.)

43. DRUST III. son of Gyrom, A. C. 524. After reigning one year DRUST IV. son of Udrost, was associated with him in the government ; and reigned five years. Then Drust III. reigned alone five years more. Hence this reign is of eleven years. (*Drest filius Gyrom, et Drest filius Udrost* A. *Drust fil. Gigurum, et Drust filius Hydrossig*, B. *Durst fil. Gigurum, et Drust fil. Ochtrede*, D. *Drust Gygmor, et Drust Hoderling*, C.)

44. GARNAT III. another son of Gyrom, A. C. 535, reigned 7 years. (*Gartnoch fil. Gyrom*, A. *Ganut fil. Gigurum*, B. *Garnat Gygmor*, C. *Garnart fil. Gigurum*, D.)

45. KEALTRAIM, another son of Gyrom, A. C. 542, reigned 1 year. (*Cealtraim fil. Gyrom*, A. *Kelturan frater Ganut*, B. *Gelturnam*, C. *Kelturan frater Garnart*, D.)

46. TALORC III. son of Muircholaich, A. C. 543, reigned 11 years. (*Talorg fil. Muircholaich*, A. *Golarg fil. Mordeleg*, B. *Golarg Mak Mordeleg*, C. *Thalarger fil. Mordelech*, D.)

47. DRUST V. son of Munait, A. C. 554, reigned 1 year. (*Drest filius Munait*, A. *Drust fil. Moneth*, B. *Drust Mak Moneth*, C. *Durst fil. Moneth*, D.)

48. GALAN II. A. C. 555, reigned with ALEPH, 1 year ; with BRUDI II. 1 year ; so 2 years. (*Galam cum Aleph et Briduo*, A. *Tagalad*, B. *Gagalad*, C. *Thalagath*, D.)

After this period the catalogue of Pikish kings, which Lynch found in an Irish translation of Nennius, comes in [E]; and the Annals of Tighernac, and of Ulster, furnish much intelligence concerning Pikish affairs.¹

49. BRUDI II. son of Meilochon, A. C. 557, reigned 31 years, including the one he reigned with Galan II. (*Brides fil. Mailcom*, A. *Brude fil. Melchon*, B. *Brude Methmessor*, C. *Brude fil. Meilochon*, D. *Brudeus fil. Nelchon*, E. *Brudeus*, Adomnan. *Bridius fil. Meilochon rex potentissimus*, Beda, *Bridus*, App. ad Marc. Com. *Bruidi Mac Melcon*, Tigh.) In the ninth year of his reign, he was converted to Christianity with most of the Northern Piks, by Columba. See Cuminius, Adomnan, Beda, &c.

The Appendix to Marcellinus Comes, written by some German, has this passage concerning Brudi II. *Anno 557. In Britannio Bridus rex Pictorum efficitur. Hildebertus rex Francorum circa hæc tempora moritur.* The Annals of Tighernac say that Brudi was born in 504 ; but put 507, as they are generally three years antedated throughout.² His death they place at 583, though really 587. At 579 [582] they bear *Kenelath rex Pictorum moritur* : and he is the *only* king of the Piks mentioned in these Annals, but unknown to our Chronicles.³ Perhaps he was a local monarch ; or, as depositions of kings were not uncommon among the Piks, a king deposed in favour of Brudi, and the same with the *Aleph* of our Chronicles : for in Ireland, as future examples evince, the

¹ See the extracts, vol. II. Appendix.

² The dates are generally added on the margin by a late hand.

³ See App. Notes to Chr. Pict.

names of our monarchs are sometimes altered by different pronounciation. The two next kings are not mentioned by Tighernac, or the Ulster Annalist: but they have all the other *Twenty-five* to the end, except *four*, whose reigns were very short: and they uniformly confirm the Pikish Chronicle in names and duration of reign.

50. GARNAT IV. son of Domelch, A. C. 587, reigned 11 years. (*Gartnaich fil. Domelch, A. Garnat fil. Domnach, B. Garnat Mak Dounah, C. Garnard fil. Dompnach, D. Garnad, fil. Domnach, E.*) To this king Winton and Fordun ascribe the foundation of Abernethy.

51. NETHAN II. grandson of Verp, A. C. 598, reigned 20 years. (*Nectu nepos Verp, A. Nethan fil. Ub, B. wanting C. Nectan fil. Irbe, D. Neckan nepos Verp, E.*) To this king the Register of St Andrew's ascribes the foundation of Abernethy.

52. KINIOD I. son of Luthrin, A. C. 618, reigned 19 years. (*Cineoch fil. Luthrin, A. Kinel fil. Luthren, B. Kynel Mak Luthren, C. Kenel fil. Luchtren, D. Kenethus fil. Luthrin, E. Cinedh fil. Luthreni, Tigh.*) By an error in the press, or transcription, the Pikish Chronicle, as published by Innes, gives but xi. years to this prince, instead of xix. as the Irish Nennius expressly bears, and the chronology demands.

An unintelligible passage of Tighernac bears at 628 [632]. . . . *Buidhe regis Pictorum per filios Aodhain.* At 630 he has, *Bellum Perlacartle, et mors Cinedhon filii Luthreni regis Pictorum.* Kiniod seems hence to have fallen in this battle.

53. GARNAT V. son of Wid, A. C. 637, reigned 4 years. (*Garnard fil. Wid. A. In B. he is styled Nectan son of Fottle. Nattan Fodisson, C. Nectan fil. Fode, D. Garnaid filius Vaid, E. Gartnaith Mac Oith, Tigh.*) The *Fode* mis-spelt *Fottle*, or perhaps *Fothe* in B. is evidently the *Wid* of A. and this king had

probably two names, *Garnat Nectan*, as Fordun says Drust I. was also called Nectan, *Durst qui alias vocabatur Nectan*.

Tighernac says at the year 634, as marked on the margin, *Ecclesia Rechran fundata est. Mors Garntnai Mac Foith. Bellum Hegaise in quo cecidit Lactna Mac Nechtain, cum Fotha Cumascach Mac Eneasa, et Gartnaith Mac Oith*. It hence seems that Garnat was slain at the battle of *Hegaise*, probably in an intestine war. Tighernac often speaks even of the kings of Ireland merely by name, without any addition of title.

54. BRUDI III. another son of Wid, A. C. 641, reigned 5 years. (*Bridei filius Wid, A. Brude fil. Fathe, B. Brude, C. Brude fil. Fachna, D. Brudeus filius Vaid, E. Bruidi fil. Foith, Tigh.*) “*Mors Bruidi filii Foith.*” Tigh. ad ann. 640.

55. TALORC IV. another son of Wid, A. C. 646, reigned 12 years. (*Talore frater eorum [Ganat et Brudi] A. Telarg fil. Fetobar, B. i. e. son of Fet [Wid] above named: ober, Germ.—Golarge, C. Thalarger fil. Ferchard, D. Tolore frater eorum, E. Dolairg Mac Foith, Tigh.*)

Mors Ferith Mac Tuathalan, et Dolairg Mac Foith regis Pictorum. Tigh. ad A. 652.

56. TALORGAN I. son of Enfret, A. C. 658, reigned 4 years. (*Talorcon fil. Enfret, A. Talargan fil. Amfrude, B. Golargan, C. Thalargan fil. Amfrud, D. Talorcan fil. Enfret, E. Dolargain Mac Anfrith, Tigh.*) This monarch, by some error of Fordun, occurs twice in the list, here, and after the 34th king; a mistake probably arising from his copy being written in double columns, so that his name had slipped from one column into the other, yet was repeated in its proper place. *Mors Dolargain Mac Anfrith regis Pictorum.* Tigh. ad. 656.

57. GARNAT VI. son of Donell, A. C. 662, reign-

ed $6\frac{1}{2}$ years. (*Gartnait fil. Donnell, A. Garnat fil. Domnal, B. Garnat Mac Donald, C. Garnard fil. Dompnal, D. Garnad fil. Donel, E. Gartnaidh fil. Donaldi, Tigh.*)

Mors Gartnaidh fil. Donaldi, et Donaldi filii Tuathalani. Tigh. ad 662.

58. DRUST VI. another son of Donell, A. C. 669, reigned 7 years. (*Drest frater ejus [Garnat] A. B. Durst his brother, C. frater ejus Durst, D. Druse frater ejus, E. Drost fil. Domnail, Tigh.*')

Tighernac, at 663, has *Bellum Ludhoseirn in Fortren*, or "the war of Ludhoseirn in Pikland;" for Pikland he often calls FORTREN, from the king's residence at Forteviot, or some chief town; as the Laws of Howel Dha term the king of England, king of London. At 667, he tells us, that the sons of Garnat sailed into Ireland, with the people *Sceth*; and that they returned next year. Garnat VI. is probably alluded to. At 671, he puts *Expulsio Drosti de regno*, "the expulsion of Drust from his kingdom;" certainly Drust VI.

59. BRUDI IV. son of Bili, A. C. 676, reigned 21 years (*Bredei fil. Bili, A. Brude fil. Bile, B. Brude Bilis son, C. Brude fil. Bile. D. Brudeus fil. Fili, E. Bruide Mac Bile, Tigh.*) This Brudi slew Egfrid king of Northumberland in battle, 685, as the addition to Nennius informs.

At 681, Tighernac says, *Orcades deletæ sunt a Bruide*, "the Orkneys ravaged by Brudi." At 692, *Bruide Mac Bile rex Fortren moritur*, "Brudi son of Bili king of Pikland dies." He also at that year marks the death of Alphin, son of Nethan; and the slaugh-

¹ About 665, the Piks invaded Ulster; but, as would seem by the records, they were repulsed with loss. Wynne's Hist. Irel.

About 671, the Piks renewed their irruptions, burned a monastery, and drove out the poor monks; after which, and other depredations, they retired to their own country. *Ibid.*

ter of Ainfrith and Pithnel, sons of Boeno, apparently Piks.

60. THARAN II. son of Entifidich, A. C. 697, reigned 4 years. (*Taran fil. Entifidich, A. Taram fil. Amfredech, B. wanting C. Gharan fil. Amfedech, D. Taran fil. Enfidi, E. Taracin, Tigh.*)

At 696, Tighernac puts the expulsion of Tharan II. from his kingdom: but the marker of the years is generally from three to five years wrong.

61. BRUDI V. son of Derili, A. C. 701, reigned 11 years. (*Bredei fil. Dereli, A. Brude fil. Derili, B. Brude Dargardson, C. Brude fil. Decili, D. Breitef fil. Derilei, E. Brude Mac Derile, Tigh.*)

In the reign of Brudi, son of Derili, 697, i. e. 702, Tighernac marks a war between the Saxons (Angles of Northumbria) and the Piks, in which fell Brechtra son of Bernith. At 705 is put *Brude Mac Derile moritur*, "Brudi, son of Derili, dies." He founded the churches at Culross and in Lochleven, as Winton says; but others ascribe this last to Brudi VII.

62. NETHAN III. another son of Derili, A. C. 712, reigned 15 years. (*Nechton fil. Dereli, A. Nectan frater ejus [Brude] B. his brother Nactan, C. frater ejus Nectane, D. Nectanus fil. Derilei, E. Naitan, Beda. Netan Mac Derile, Tigh.*) To this Prince Ceolfrid wrote his famous letter, given by Beda, in 715. Winton says he founded Rosmarkin, a circumstance nowhere else to be found; though Beda tells us he desired, and had, architects to build a church, from Ceolfrid.

Tighernac, in this reign at 710, i. e. 712, or 713, mentions a slaughter of the Piks by the Saxons, in *Campo Manan*, (perhaps in the Isle of Man) where Finguin, son of Delaroith, fell. At 712, i. e. 714, or 715, he marks the slaughter of Kiniod, son of Derili, apparently the king's brother; and of the son of Mathgennan. Talorc, son of Drustan, was also that year

put in chains by his *brother* Nethan, the king. He must have been half-brother, or brother-in-law, or brother-at-arms; for King Nethan's father was Derili. At 715, i. e. 717, he marks the death of Garnat, son of Delaroith, apparently brother of Finguin, above-mentioned. In 716, i. e. 718, he mentions that the monks of Hyona were expelled beyond Drum Albin, by King Nethan; probably in consequence of the letter of Ceolfrid concerning Easter. At 718, i. e. 720, we find the slaughter of Drustan. In 725, i. e. 727, Nethan *constringitur*, "is bound," or put in chains, by King Drust VII. (*a Drost rege*) his successor; and same year Talorgan Maphan died.

After this, the Pikish Chronicle agrees with the list in the Irish translation of Nennius, and with Tighernac; but Fordun, and the Register of St Andrew's, though agreeing between themselves, differ widely from the two first authorities, through *five*, or, as they bear, *six* reigns, which amount to *sixty* years instead of *fifty*, the real space, thus altering the whole chronology, and most erroneously, as Hoveden and other extraneous authors prove. Winton is quite imperfect, but he leans to Fordun and the Register. The reason of this brief difference of the Scottish transcripts from the genuine Pikish Chronicle seems to be, that the nature of the succession to the Pikish crown left room for many civil commotions, and the old Scots of Dalriada being latterly at frequent variance with the Piks, it was their interest to support every usurper. The most remarkable variety is in the next reign. The Register of St Andrew's gives it to Garnard, and says he reigned 20 years; but the numbers in that whole list are totally corrupt. Fordun assigns him 14 years. He seems to have been an usurper supported by the Dalriads, and whose reign was estimated by his life.

63. DRUST VII. and ELFIN I. A. C. 727, reigned

together five years. (*Drest et Alpin*, A. *Drestus et Alpinus*, E. *Drost*, Tigh. *Elpin*, Id. wanting rest.)¹

In 727, or 729, Tighernac mentions the intestine battle of Monacrib fought among the Piks themselves. Ungust, afterwards king, was conqueror; and many on the side of Elpin the king (*Elpini regis*) were slain. Another bloody battle was fought between them the same year, near the castle of Crei, where Elpin fled. But Drust still retained his throne, as appears presently. Next year, or 730, we learn from the same authority that there was a battle between the army of Nethan, commanded by *exactatores*, or officers, and that of Ungust. Rikeat, son of Monet, and his son, and Fingain, son of Drustan, officers on the part of Nethan, fell. The house of Ungust, with Fenach, son of Fingair, and Muti, were victorious. Who Nethan was, appears not; but there is every reason to infer that he was Nethan III. and that he had either escaped, or, as more probable, his friends had raised this army to deliver him, and replace him on the throne. Same year another battle was fought at Dro-ma Derg Blathug, in Pikland, between Ungust and King Drust, where Drust fell, and Ungust became king. The Piks thus felt the usual disadvantages of elective monarchy.

64. UNGUST I. son of Vergust, A. C. 732, reigned 29 years: the Pikish Chronicle, and Irish list, for the sake of a round number, put 30; an usual plan in barbaric times, when chronology is inaccurate, and round numbers please the memory. The Register of St Andrew's says, he reigned 16 years, and after gives

¹ Caradoc of Lhancarvon, at 733, puts the death of an Edwyn, King of the Piks. Perhaps the name in MSS. was Elpin. At 750 he marks a battle between the Piks and Britons at Magedawc, in which the Piks were defeated, and Talargan their king slain. This king was surely a *rex exercitus*, or general; but from the silence of all other writers, the event seems fabulous.

him 36. Fordun gives him 14 years ; but we know from a Chronicle at the end of Beda, Simeon, and Hoveden, that he died in 761. (*Onnust fil. Urgust, A. Oengusa fil. Fergus, B. C. D. Onuis fil. Urgust, E. Oengus, Chron. ad. fin. Bedæ. Unnust, Simeon Dunelm; et Hoveden. Aongus Mac Fergus, Tigh.*) This prince is noted by extraneous authors, his reign being long, and full of enterprise and glory. In 744 was fought a noted battle between the Piks and Britons of Strat-clyde. *Sim. Dunelm. &c.* In 756, Edbert, king of Northumbria, joined his army to that of Ungust, against the Strat-clyde Britons ; and Alcluid yielded on terms (of homage, as would seem.) *Simeon. Hoveden.* In 761 he died. *Chron. ad fin. Bedæ.* Hoveden says in 762 ; Simeon in 759.

But it is to Tighernac that we are chiefly indebted for his fame. Ungust I., whom the reader has already seen always in war, and always victorious in former reigns, the dethroner of two kings, and the conqueror of every rival, was, after Drust the Great, the most valiant and powerful of our monarchs. His reign, of twenty-nine years, was a succession of exertions and acquisitions. The continuator of Beda says, *Anno 761, Oengus Pictorum rex obiit ; qui regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruento tyrannus perduxit carnifex*, that Ungust, through his whole reign, was a bloody tyrant, and executioner. He appears indeed to have been a cruel prince, but at the same time most brave and warlike ; nor was clemency a virtue of that age. In his numerous wars he might not shew much respect to the monks ; and this may have induced the monastic continuator to slander his fame ; but let us judge him by his actions. The second year of his reign, as appears from Tighernac, or 734, a battle was fought between Brudi, son of Ungust I. and Talorgan, son of Congust ; the latter was defeated, and fled. Three years after, or 737, this

Talorgan, son of Congust, was defeated by his brother, and delivered to the people, who drowned him. Nothing more is known concerning this Pikish chief. Talorgan, son of Drustan, was seized and bound near the castle of Olia; Don Lethfin, apparently his residence, was destroyed; and he was after obliged to fly to Ireland from the power of Ungust. In 739 Ungust ravaged Dalriada, took Dunat, and burned Creio; and put Dungal and Ferach, the two sons of Selvac, late king of Dalriada, in chains. Brudi, son of Ungust, died. A battle was fought at Twini Onirbre between the Piks and Dalriads: Talorgan, son of Vergust, (apparently brother of Ungust) defeated the Dalriads under Murdac, son of Ambkellach, and pursued them with great slaughter. In 741, Talorgan, son of Drustan, king of Ahafoitle, was drowned by orders of Ungust. He seems the same above-mentioned, who had fled to Ireland, but had returned. The title of king was very common in these times, and applied to any chief of great power. The punishment of drowning, now unknown, was formerly practised among the Gothic nations; and even lately in Russia. In 742, Cubretan, son of Congust, died. In 743, a battle was fought at Droma Cathvaoil, between the Piks and Dalriads; and in this year Dalriada was utterly wasted by Ungust. The old Dalriadic race of kings now expires, and a new Pikish one succeeds; as the reader will find, when we come to the kings of Dalriada. Three years after, or 746,

* Tacitus says of the Germans, "Proditores, et transfugas, arboribus suspendunt. Ignavos, et imbelles, et corpore infames, cæno ac palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt." Germ. c. 12. Hence this punishment appears to have been a mark of great infamy. The *altum et bussum*, pit and gallows, of feudal laws apparently rose from this practice. Sueno, p. 113, tells that Eric King of Denmark, in 1135, *Biornonem nepotem suum captivavit . . . annexumque molari in profundum abyssi demersit*. And Snorro tells us, that the Swedes boasted of drowning five of their kings. *Heimskr.*

the battle of Catho was fought between the Piks and Welch of Strat-clyde; in which Talorgan, son of Vergust, and brother of Ungust, fell. In 761, Ungust died, after an active and glorious reign. For all these notices we are indebted to Tighernac, and the Annals of Ulster. It is impossible to help suspecting that the great actions of this prince, and in particular his destroying the kingdom of Dalriada, an Irish settlement, induced our Irish Chroniclers in Scotland to pervert the Pikish Chronicles at this period. The kingdom and name of the Old Scots in Britain, mentioned by Adomnan and Beda, totally cease with the conquest of Dalriada, and are never after to be found. The name of the new, or present Scots, was given to the Piks about 1020, as after shewn; and the Dalriads are ever after 743 called *Gatheli*, *Hibernenses*, or Irish.

65. BRUDI VI. another son of Vergust, A. C. 761, reigned 2 years. (*Bredei fil. Wirgust*, A. *Brude fil. Tenegus*, B. C. D. *Brete fil. Urgust*, E. *Bruide*, Tigh.) *Bruide rex Fortren mort.* Tigh. ad Annum, 762.

66. KINIOD II. son of Wirdech, A. C. 763, reigned 12 years. (*Ciniod filius Wirdech*, A. wanting B. C. D. *Kenethus fil. Viredeg*, E. *Cinaoh*, Tigh. *Cynoth*, Hoveden. *Kynoch*, Simeon.) The want of this prince in B. C. D. sufficiently shews them imperfect, and illusory. It was to this Kiniod that Alcred, king of Northumbria, fled for refuge in 774, as Roger Hoveden and Simeon of Durham tell; and they also fix his death to the next year, or 775, in perfect coincidence with this chronicle.

Tighernac at 763 bears, "A battle at Fortren, between Aod and Kinaoh:" the latter was the Pikish king. At 774, he has, *Mors Kinaoh regis Pictorum*. Caradoc of Llancarvon also mentions him.

Here the six accounts again agree in names of kings ; and are nearly uniform to the end.

67. ELPIN II. son of Vered, A. C. 775, reigned $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. (*Elpin fil. Wroid, A. Alpin fil. Feret, B. Alpin, C. Alpinus fil. Feredech, D. Alpinus fil. Vrod, E.*)

Tighernac, at 779, marks the death of Elpin king of the Saxons. As there was no king of the Saxons of that name, it seems an error of the transcriber for *Piks*.

68. DRUST VIII. son of Talorgan, A. C. 779, reigned 4 years. (*Drest fil. Talorgan, A. Drust fil. Talargan, B. wanting C. Durst fil. Thalargan, D. Drest fil. Talorcen, E.*)

At 781, Tighernac bears the death of *Drustalarg*, king of the Piks, *citra Monah*, on this side Monah. I know not if he means *Drust Talorganson*, or some great chief.

69. TALORGAN II. son of Ungust, A. C. 783, reigned $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. (*Talorgan fil. Onnust, A. Talar-gan fil. Drustan, B. wanting C. Thalarger fil. Drus-ken, D. Tolorcen fil. Drustan, E.*)

70. CANUL, son of Tarla, A. C. 786, reigned 5 years. (*Canaul fil. Tarla, A. Thalargan fil. Tenegus, B. D. wanting, C. Canul fil. Tang, E. Conal Mac Teige, Tigh. si sic MSS.*)

Tighernac, at 788, marks a battle between the Piks, where Conal Mac Teige was vanquished, and fled, and Constantin was conqueror : evidently this king and his successor.

These complete the Seventy Pikish kings preceding Constantin, as the ancient Irish Annals bear.

71. CONSTANTIN, son of Vergust, A. C. 791, reigned 30 years. (*Castantin fil. Wrguist, A. Constantin fil. Fergus, B. Constantin, C. Constantinus fil. Fergusii, D. Cuastain fil. Urgust, E. Constantin Mac Fergus, Tigh.*) The Register of St Andrew's, Fordun, and Winton, all agree that this monarch erected the

church of Dunkeld ; and Winton dates this erection in 815. *Constantin Mac Fergus rex Fortren mor. Tigh. ad 819.*

In 796, Osbald, a Northumbrian nobleman, after reigning in Northumbria for a month only, was expelled ; and fled by sea from Lindesfarn to the Pikish king, and after died an abbot. *Sim. Dun.*

72. UNGUST II. another son of Vergust, A. C. 821, reigned 12 years. (*Unnust fil. Wrgust, A. Hungus fil. Fergus, B. Hungus, C. Hungus fil. Fergusii, D. Vidanist fil. Urgust, E. Aongus Mac Fergus, Tigh.*) This king, all the above authors agree, founded Kilremont, afterward called St Andrew's. A part of the charter, as preserved in the Register of St Andrew's, is given by Sibbald in his history of Fife.* The witnesses are *Thalarg, son of Ythernbuthib ; Nactan, son of Chelturan ; Garnach, son of Dosnach ; Drust, son of Urthros ; Nachtalech, son of Gighert ; Shinah, son of Lucheran ; Anegus, son of Forchele ; Pheradach, son of Phinleach ; Phiachan, son of Bolge ; Glunmerath, son of Taran ; Demene, son of Cringana ; Duptaleich, son of Bargah ;* ALL OF THE ROYAL RACE. The account of the foundation of St Andrew's, containing this charter, is written by *Chana, son of Dudabrath ;* and bears a singular addition, *Regi Pherath, filio Bargothe in villa Migdale.* What is the meaning of this address ? Vered, (here called Pherath,) son of Barget, was king in 839, six years after the death of Ungust II. Should we read *Regi*, as here, and suppose the account was sent to the king ? Or is it not more reasonable to suppose the copy had *Rege*, and was taken during his reign, and bore this simple mark of his confirmation ? Tighernac, at 833, has, *Aongus Mac Fergus, rex Fortren moritur.*

* See the Excerpts from the Register of St Andrew's in the Appendix to this volume.

It is remarkable of this king, Ungust II. that he is the only prince, whose name, and that of his father, were the same with Ungust I. and that he succeeded his brother, who had reigned no less than thirty years.

73. DRUST IX. son of Constantin, and TALORGAN III. son of Uthol, A. C. 833, reigned together 3 years. (*Drest fil. Constantin, et Talorgan fil. Uthoil, A. Drest fil. Constantin, et Talorgus fil. Uthol. E. wanting, C. The others B. and D. blunder the two names into one, Dustalorg, B. Durstolorger, D.*)

The Pikish succession seems here to have been violated for the first time, as Drust, son of King Constantin, ascended the throne.

74. UVEN, son of Ungust, A. C. 836, reigned 3 years. (*Uuen fil. Unnust, A. Eoganan fil. Hungus, B. wanting, C. Eoghane fil. Hungus, D. Unen fil. Unust. E. Owen Mac Aongus, Tigh.*) A second violation of the succession.

At 838 Tighernac gives the last notice concerning the Piks, till 857, when he marks the death of Cinaoh, or Kenneth, son of Alpin, king of the Piks. It is that the Danes and Norwegians made war upon Pikland; and a battle was fought, in which fell Owen, son of Aongus; and Bran, son of Aongus; and Aod, son of Boan; and many others. The first is certainly Uven, son of Ungust, the king; and the second his brother.

75. VERED, son of Barget, A. C. 839, reigned 3 years. (*Ured fil. Bargoit, A. Ferat fil. Batot, B. wanting, C. Ferech fil. Badoc, D. Urard fil. Barget, E.*)

76. BRUDI VII. son of Vered, A. C. 842, reigned 1 year. (*Bred, A. Brude fil. Ferat, B. wanting C. Brude fil. Feredeck, D. Breud, E. Unhappily A. and E. do not give the name of his father; but it is clear from B. and D. that he was the son of Vered, or, as*

they call him by Celtic pronunciation, Ferat, the last king.)

This Brudi is called son of Dergard, in the Chartulary of St Andrew's, whence Ruddiman¹ quotes this passage: "Brudi, son of Dergard, who was last king of the Piks, according to ancient traditions, bestowed the island of Lochleven on God Almighty, and St Serf, and the Culdees hermits residing there and serving God, and who are to continue to serve him in that island." But Winton imputes this foundation to Brudi V. son of Derili, which name he puts Dergard: and the Chartulary seems to have confounded him with Brudi VII. when it terms him last king of the Piks.

After Kenneth's power was acknowledged, as is clear from the invaluable Pikish Chronicle, and from the Irish list, the former of which closes with Brudi VII. and the latter next after this Brudi gives Kenneth, the son of Alpin, he had, as the Register of St Andrew's and Fordun state, three successive usurpers to struggle with. They were:

Kinat, son of Ferat, whose usurpation lasted one month.

Brudi, son of Fotel, who stood out 2 years.

Drust, son of Ferat, who contested for 3 years.

This contest therefore lasted till 848. Two of the usurpers were sons of Vered, or Ferat, the 75th king, the *Pretenders* of the time, for Kenneth was supported by the Pikish nation at large, as after explained.

Beside these three pretenders, the Register of St Andrew's and Fordun have, in the Second Part, admitted one usurper, and one erroneous king; namely,

Garnat, son of Feredech, in the time of Drust VII. and Elpin I. or about 727, an usurper. But this Gar-

¹ Introduct. ad Diplom. Scotiæ.

nat is quite unknown to Tighernac and the Annals of Ulster, though at this period full of Pikish affairs.

Nethan, son of Derili, whom they repeat at the same period, by a mere error in transcription, as he preceded Drust VII. and Elpin I. his reign ceasing in 727: but this new reign of his they only extend to nine months. Nethan, who had been deposed by Drust, appears indeed, from Tighernac, to have re-asserted his right to the crown, as above-mentioned, which accounts for this repetition.

Some other kings are out of order, toward the end of Fordun's list, and of that given in the Register of St Andrew's; which are indeed only valuable as collateral proofs of the two authentic monuments, the Pikish Chronicle, and the List preserved in the ancient Irish translation of Nennius. The Annals of Tighernac and Ulster, and the old English historians, sufficiently confirm these two remains, and make the latter part of Pikish history as clear as can be expected.

CHAPTER IX.

Extent of the Pikish Dominions.

THE industrious and acute Innes, who ought never to be named by a Scottish antiquary but with superlative praise, has treated this part of my subject at such length, as to leave me little to add. I shall therefore on this one occasion do little more than abstract his account; though with some corrections.

Tacitus, the most ancient author who gives any account of the northern parts of Britain, includes in the possessions of the Caledonii, or Piks, all the countries on the north side of the Tay. Ptolemy, in his geography, gives us the western boundary of the Caledonians on the south; namely, Lelamoniæ Sinus, or Loch Fyn. Dio, in his relation of the expedition of Severus into Caledonia, mentions the wall of Antoninus, as the boundary between the Caledonians and Mæatae, for the former had, about the year 170, broken the Province of Vespasiana, and seized all the country down to Forth.

Beda is clear that the Piks from an early period possessed the northern parts beyond the friths, from west to east. For he tells that the frith of Clyde was anciently the boundary of the Britons and Piks.¹ And he gives us to know that the Dalriads, at their first coming to Britain, were received in a portion of the Pikish territories, *in parte Pictorum*, at the north side

¹ I. 1. Yet the Gadeni, a part of the Strat-clyde Welch, had Dumbartonshire; but of this presently.

of the frith of Clyde. It is also clear from Beda, that, in 565, Hy, or Icolmkill, belonged to the Pikish territory, seeing the king of the Piks gave it to Columba. They who would on this occasion confute Beda from the Annals of Ulster, a work of the fifteenth century, which say the Old Scots gave it to Columba, only shew gross ignorance of every law concerning historic authority. The distance of time is so great, that the latter testimony can in no way confute the former; and these Annals being written by Irish churchmen, they would naturally wish to make Hyona belong to the Old Scots of Irish extract; and to give them the merit of this saintly donation. It is therefore apparent, that in 565 the Old Scots of Britain only held the south part of Argyle.

Ammianus Marcellinus, in the fourth century, divides the Piks into Dicaledones and Vecturiones; the former certainly the Northern Piks bordering on the Deucaledonian sea; the latter the Southern, as appears from Richard; and their name, which is merely that of the Vikar, or Vichtar, the Icelandic pronunciation of Pikar, or Pichtar, in a Latin form. Snorro Sturleson, the venerable northern historian of the thirteenth century, calls the Old Piks of Norway, *Vikveriar*, or men of Vika; a name very near that of *Vecturiones*. Beda confirms this division of Ammianus, by mentioning that the Southern Piks, converted by Ninian, were divided from the Northern by high ridges of hills. That is, the Southern Piks were the Lowland Piks; the Northern, the Highland Piks; the two grand divisions of Scotland in all ages. These hills were the Grampians, which run from Loch Lomond on the west, to Aberdeenshire on the east.

Adomnan, in a remarkable passage of his life of Columba, not to be found in the early editions, but published by Bollandus in his edition about the year

1660, from a fuller MS. and which passage also occurs in the invaluable MS. in the King's library, written in the twelfth or thirteenth century, tells us, that the hills of Drum-Albayn were the boundaries between the Piks and British Scots. *Pictorum plebe et Scottorum Britannia, quos utrosque Dorsi montes Britannici disterminant.* The *Dorsum Britannicum* is a mere Latin translation of Drum-Albayn, "The Back of Britain." Father Innes has, upon this occasion, much foreign matter about the Grampians, as if the Grampians were the only hills in Scotland! Every one knows that Drum-Alban is neither more nor less than the highest part of ancient Braidalban; and so called even in last century.* Innes supposes Drum-Alban must have been in a direct mathematical line, between Hyona and King Brudi's Castle, on the river Ness, near Inverness; because Adomnan says, Columba used to pass it in his way to that castle on the Ness. Of course he makes the hills of Drum-Alban run from Athol, north-west, to the coast opposite to the Isle of Skey. But as it is universally known to a certainty, that Drum-Alban is the highest part, or mountainous ridge, of Braid-Alban, it is palpable that Columba crossed from Hyona to the nearest shore, that of Mid Lorn, in a line with Inverary, and from thence passed Braid-Alban to Inverness: a way which common sense points out as the nearest and most convenient. Innes seems to imagine that Columba went through the Isle of Mull, and kept to the northward of Loch Linny and Loch Ness. But in this case he could not have passed Drum-Alban, and must have gone a far way about,

* "And the highest part of Braid-Albin is called Drum-Albin, that is, the back of Scotland, so termed, for forth of the back waters do run in both the seas." Moneypenny's Description of Scotland, London, 1612, 8vo. Edin. 1633, 1760, 12mo.

It is now probably the Muir of Rannoch. See Roy.

through the region of the Piks: while the other way was nearer; and he went through the territory of his countrymen to its extreme frontier, and so passed at once to the Pikish court, where the scene of his mission lay. Indeed the position of Drum-Alban is so well known, that it is needless to argue the point. In this remarkable passage, concerning the boundary of the Piks and Dalriadic Scots, Adomnan is speaking of a plague that happened in his own time, about the year 702, when he visited Alfred, king of Northumberland, as he himself, and Beda, tell: which plague, as the passage bears, visited all nations, save the Piks and British Scots, which were divided from each other by Drum-Alban. That is, the British Scots in the eighth century were confined to Argyleshire, with the Isles of Jura and Ila.

Adomnan, in speaking of the Pikish dominions, uses always the barbaric phrase of his age, *Pictorum Provincia*. The word *Provincia* had now become low Latin, for a region, land, or territory, however large, as under the Romans whole kingdoms had been provinces. In lib. I. c. 10. Adomnan uses *Galliarum Provinciis*; for Gaul. Du Cange, in his glossary, observes that the kingdom of France is called *Provincia* by an ancient writer; nay, that Tertullian calls the world itself, *Provincia*.*

Those of the Hebud Isles, which are mentioned by Adomnan, are, 1. *Hyona*, or Icolmkill. 2. *Malea*, or Mull. 3. *Colosus*, or Colonsa. 4. *Himba*, where there was a monastery, founded by Columba, and which would seem to have been upon the coast of

* Pro regno Franciæ adhibet Adeodatus, PP. in privilegio pro majori Monast. *In cujus volumine et aliorum per Gallicanam provinciam constitutorum antistitum.* Provincia mundus ipse dicitur Tertull. adv. Valent. c. 20. *Igitur Demiurgus extra Pleromatis limites constitutus . . . novam provinciam condidit, hunc mundum.* Du Cange in voce.

Ireland. 5. *Rechrea*, or *Rachlin*. 6. *Scia*, or *Skey*, where Columba was some days, *lib.* III. c. 4. edit. Messingham. This isle was then full of woods; and Columba slew *aprum*, "a boar," in it. In *lib.* I. c. 12. edit. *Mess.* § 31, *Surii et al.* beginning, *Cum per aliquot dies in insula demoraretur Scotia vir beatus*; read, as the MS. in the king's Lib. bears, *in insula Scia*.¹ Unhappily Adomnan gives no hint to which nation Mull and Skey belonged; but it seems certain that, while Hyona belonged to the Piks, these two great islands to the north of it must have also been in their hands. The history of the Hebud Isles is obscure to excess, till the ninth century, when the Norwegians got them. When the Piks acquired better habitations in Britain, they seem to have left the Hebudes very thinly inhabited; and in the ninth century we may safely suppose the Old Scots, or Irish, were the most numerous people in them; and their speech prevailed, as at this day.

Of the Orkneys little is known. It is sufficient to observe here, that Adomnan shews there was a *regulus*, or prince of the Orkneys, at the court of Brudi, king of the Piks, when Columba visited it about 570; and that this prince had given the Pikish sovereign hostages for his fidelity; whence Columba requested the king to recommend to this prince the monks then in the Orkneys. Thus it is clear that the Orkneys were subject to Pikland. Nennius also, who wrote in 858, shews that the Piks then held the northern extremity of Britain; for he says the Orkneys were "situated at the extremity of Britain, beyond the Piks."² The life of St Findan, written by a contemporary, and published by Goldastus, is an au-

¹ *Egea*, or *Egg*, and several others are also mentioned.

² *Tertia insula sita est in extremo limite orbis Britanniae, ultra Pictos, et vocatur Orcania ins.* Nenn. c. 2. p. 98. edit. Gale.

thentic monument of the ninth century. The author, a companion of the saint, relates that Findan was carried away captive from Ireland, by the Norwegians, about the end of the eighth century ; and that, in going from Ireland to Denmark, they came to certain islands called the Orkneys, in the neighbourhood of the Pikish nation, *ad quasdam venere insulas, juxta Pictorum gentem, quas Orcades vocant.*¹ From an invaluable monument, published in the second edition of Wallace's Orkney Isles, London, 1700, being a Diploma of the year 1443,² we learn that, when the Norwegians seized the Orkneys in the ninth century, they found them possessed by the Pets, or Piks, and *Papas*. Who these *Papas* were, shall be afterward examined ; but it suffices here to add, from that Diploma, that the Orkneys were then called *Terra Petorum*, "a land of the Piks." The name of Pentland Frith, called in the Navigation of James V. *Pictland Frith*, also confirms this. The guttural name of the Piks to be found in the Saxon Chronicle, and in the vulgar mouth, namely *Pehts*, being hard to pronounce, and somehow indefinite in the enouncing, *Pent* was in frequent use substituted ; whence Pentland hills in the south of Scotland, and Pentland Frith in the furthest north.

The SOUTHERN extent of the Pikish dominions is rather more difficult to adjust, as being more changeable and obscure. The point is curious and important ; for on it depends the question, whether the inhabitants south of Forth and Clyde be of English or Pikish origin ? It therefore deserves to be examined with care ; for though the Angles and Piks were originally the very same people, the former being Danes,

¹ Goldasti Aleman. rerum Script. Vet. 1606, fol. Vita Findani, p. 318.

² Not 1403. See Hist. of Scotl. by the author, under the year 1443.

and from Scandinavia, as were the Piks, yet the discussion is interesting. Impartiality necessarily attends the subject; for, let the question be determined either way, the people of the south of Scotland are of Scandinavian origin; and it amounts barely to this, Was the south of Scotland peopled with Goths, from the north of Scotland, or from the north of England?

Innes divides the southern extent of the Pikish dominions into three epochs. 1. From the first mention we meet with in history of the Caledonians, or Piks, till the coming in of the Saxons, 449. 2. From thence till the death of Egfrid king of Northumberland, 685. 3. From Egfrid's death till the union of the Piks and Old Scots of Dalriada, 843. The first of these epochs is improper, and ought to have been till the year 426. But Innes also errs in supposing that Tacitus and Ptolemy extend the Caledonians to the Clyde and Forth.

There are really FOUR Epochs.

EPOCH I. Tacitus and Ptolemy shew, that the Piks originally extended only to Loch Fyn, and Tay, on the south. Nor did they reach to the Forth and Wall of Antoninus till Vespasiana was broken, about the year 170.

EPOCH II. Dio, Gildas, Beda, mark the Forth and Wall of Antoninus, as the southern boundary of the Piks, from about the year 170 till 426. Beda in one place, *lib. I. c. 1.* expressly mentions the frith of Clyde, as the ancient boundary between the Piks and Britons. But he errs, as is clear from Ptolemy, who puts the *Lelamonijs Sinus*, or Loch Fyn, as the southern boundary of the Caledonians, or Piks, on the west; and the Clyde never was a boundary of the Piks in any shape. For on the north of the very mouth of Clyde were the Gadeni, a Cumraig people, south of the *Lelamonijs Sinus*, and afterward a part of the

kingdom of Strat-clyde, which lasted till the tenth century; when, and never before, Dumbarton-shire and the rest of Strat-clyde fell into the hands of the Piks, being in fact the very last territory which they held. About 258, the Attacotti, or Dalriads, had Cowal, or that part of Argyleshire between Clyde and Loch Fyn, along with other contiguous territory, as Beda himself says in this very passage when he mentions that the Dalreudini settled on the *north* of the frith of Clyde: and *lib.* I. c. 12. where he describes the British Scots as passing the Clyde, and the Piks the Forth, to invade the Britons. Thus it is clear from Ptolemy, a far more ancient authority, and from his own testimony in another place, that Beda is mistaken when he mentions the Clyde as a boundary between the Piks and Britons. But if he extends the frith of Clyde to the mull of Cantire, he is right; for the Epidii, a Pikish people, were inhabitants of Cantire before 258, when it was given to the Dalriads. And his description of the frith of Clyde, as *sinus maris permaximus*, favours this interpretation of his context.

EPOCH III. In the year 425, or 426, as appears from Gildas and Beda, the Piks seized the whole province of Valentia, up to the wall of Gallio, between Solway and Tine. Gildas says, *cap.* XV. *edit. Bertram*, 1757, 8vo. *Tetri Scotorum, Pictorumque greges omnem aquilonarem, extremamque, terræ partem, pro indigenis murotenus capessunt.* “The dreadful crowds of Scots and Piks seized, as old inhabitants, the whole northern and extreme part of the land, up to the wall,” namely, of Gallio, as his context shews. And he tells us, *cap.* XIX. that, after writing to Aetius, in 446, without success, the Britons attacked the invaders; and the Scots, or Irish, went home, but the Piks retained the extreme part of the island: “*Revertuntur ergo impudentes gras-*

satores Hyberni domum, post non multum tempus reversuri. Picti in extrema parte insulæ tunc primum et deinceps requieverunt, prædas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes." The *extrema pars insulæ* is here universally known to mean the extreme part of the Roman possessions in the island, to wit, the province of Valentia. The friths of Forth and Clyde are, by Gildas and Beda, regarded as seas of separation between the Roman island, or part of Britain, and the barbarous Piks, and Scots of Argyle. So Beda himself explains, lib. I. c. 12. speaking of the Piks and these Scots, *Transmarinas autem dicimus has gentes, non quod extra Britanniam essent positæ, sed quia a parte Britonum erant remotæ, duobus finibus maris interjacentibus, &c.* "We say these nations came from beyond the seas, not because they were out of Britain, but because they were distant from the possession of the Britons, two arms of the sea lying between," &c. and he then describes the Forth and Clyde.

Beda narrates these transactions in the same way, and generally in the same words with Gildas.

Thus the Piks got possession of the province of Valentia: of which, as shall be after shewn, they ever afterward remained the inhabitants. But here a most obscure and difficult question occurs, concerning that darkest incident in the ancient history of England, namely, the territory subdued by Ohta and Ebusa, son and nephew of Hengist, about the year 460.

This question is only obscure and difficult, because it has never been examined, as indeed no part of the ancient history of England has been. Its full discussion is reserved for another place,¹ where is shewn, 1. That there is great reason even to doubt the existence of Ohta and Ebusa, they being quite un-

¹ Supplement to this work, Sect. I.

known to Beda, the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, and other the most ancient and authentic writers, and being only found in Nennius, an interpolated author. 2. That, if they did exist, there is no room to believe they made any settlement. 3. That if such settlement existed, it must have been south of the wall of Gallio. 4. That, in all events, such settlement, if it existed, was destroyed in a year or two by the Piks. The reader who wishes here to be satisfied of these points, has only to turn to the Supplement, Sect. I.

Such being the case, we may rest assured, that till 547, when the great Ida led his Angles in forty ships from the continent, landed at Flamborough in Yorkshire, and marching north, founded the kingdom of Bernicia, afterward to become the kingdom of all Northumbria; the Piks, far from diminishing their territory, or restraining their progress, greatly advanced them. It is evident, from Gildas and Beda, that the Piks in 426 had seized on all the territory down to the wall of Gallio, between Solway and Tine: and that they held that part EVER AFTER, in the words of Gildas, who wrote about 560, in quiet possession; *tunc et DEINCEPS requieverunt*. This word *requieverunt* can solely bear such meaning, for they only rested, or remained in that acquired province, *pro indigenis*, as fixt inhabitants; but by no means rested with regard to incursions on the south, as that very sentence of Gildas, and his subsequent text, bear. Had the Piks been contented with the province of Valentia, the Saxons would never have been called in. But when the Britons were quite debilitated by a plague, as Gildas and Beda shew, the Piks taking that advantage carried their arms into the very heart of Britain: and the Belgic Britons, exhausted by Roman luxury and calamities, found the Pikish hurricane burst upon their own possessions south of Humber, and were forced to ask assistance of the

Jutes, who apparently had landed on their shores by chance. In 368, when Theodosius came over, we find that he defeated some parties of Piks and Scots, in his progress through Kent to London.¹ In 448 and 449, there is room to think that the Piks had got nearly as far south, when Hengist and Horsa arriving in Kent marched against them, and defeated some of their advanced parties. Henry of Huntingdon says, the main battle between Hengist and Horsa, and the Piks, was fought at Stamford in Lincolnshire, which is but 89 miles north of London. The Piks, it is said, were defeated. But this is not a little obscure. Matthew of Westminster says, that Hengist was forced to retire to Germany for some years. According to the common accounts, Hengist came here in 449, and sent for more Jutes with Rowena his daughter, and Octa his son, in 450; and died in 488, when he could not be less than 80 years of age. It seems probable that Hengist did return to collect his powerful armament of Jutes, who were to found the kingdom of Kent; and did not arrive with them till about 460, when Carte, an author of industry, seems rightly to mark the arrival of the reinforcement. However this be, all writers, ancient or modern, join in this, that instantly after the first battle was fought with the Piks, the Jutes, their countrymen, speaking the same tongue, concluded an alliance with them. This alliance could be founded on no other basis, than that either party should retain what lands they could conquer. Beda says that the Piks were driven somewhat back² at the time of this treaty; and he dates it after the arrival of the reinforcement; that is, in 450, according to the common accounts, though more probably about 460: but this

¹ Amm. Marcell. XXVII. p. 625, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1732, 12mo.

² "Longius pepulerunt." I. 15. The passage is presently produced.

is of no moment, nor are ten years of any consequence in treating of the settlement of nations. The Piks had advanced as far as Stamford at least; and they were driven somewhat back, that is, to the other side of the Humber. This great Gothic swarm pouring from the Caledonian mountains, where they had been long pent up by the exertions of Roman power, now spread like a flood that bursts a mound. The Brigantes fled from it to the mountains of Cumberland, and the western shore: and the Piks certainly seized, as inhabitants, the whole eastern part, down to the Humber. From 448 to 547, being a century, they held this whole tract as part of their sovereignty: but from 547 to 685, only as inhabitants; after 685, one half of it, being the southern part of present Scotland, reverted to their monarchy, and continued to belong to it ever after; as inhabitants of the whole, they remain in their progeny to this day.

That the Piks seized all the country down to the Humber is no less clear, from the deduction necessarily arising from the ancient authors, than from this, that, had not such been the case, the speech of all that tract would have been Cumraig, or Welch, at this day; whereas it is more Gothic than that of any other part of England. Ida, who in 547 founded the kingdom of Bernicia; and Ælla, who about 559 founded that of Deira in this tract; had not, if both their armies be put together, above 15,000 men. A pretty number to people such a country! Had the Cumri been then the inhabitants, they might amount to a million; and their speech would infallibly have prevailed, as all know is ever the case with the most numerous people. The Danes afterward were in the same predicament.

Another circumstance corroborating the Pikish origin of the Northumbrians, is the decree of the Council of Calcot in Northumbria, held in the year

787, against that noted practice of the Piks, the painting, or staining, of their bodies. It is as follows: *Annexuimus ut unusquisque fidelis Christianus a Catholicis juris exemplum accipiat; et, si quid ex ritu Paganorum remansit, avellatur, contemnatur, abjiciatur. Deus enim formaverit hominem pulchrum in decore et specie. Pagani vero, diabolico instinctu, cicatrices acerrimas superinduxerunt: dicente Prudentio;*

Tinxit et innocuam maculis sordentibus humum.

Domino enim videtur facere injuriam, qui creaturam fædat ac deturpat. Certe si pro Deo aliquis hanc tincturæ injuriam sustineret, magnam inde remunerationem accipiet. Sed quisquis ex superstitione gentilium id agit, non ei proficit ad salutem. Labbé Concil. Tom. VI. p. 1872. That is, “We also have added, that every faithful Christian ought to receive example of law, from the true believers; and that if any thing of Pagan rite remain, it should be torn off, despised, and thrown away. For God has formed man fair in person and hue. But the Pagans, by diabolical instinct, have covered him with deep marks: as Prudentius says, “He has covered the innocent ground with base stains.” For he seems to injure the Lord who stains and defiles his creatures. Certainly if any one receives the injury of this dye for the sake of God, he will receive a great reward therefore. But he who does it from the superstition of the gentiles, it will nothing avail to his salvation.” William of Malmsbury indeed tells us that the Angli painted themselves; but he is singular in this account, unknown to Beda, and the elder writers: and, if they did, it seems most reasonable to impute this practice to that of the Piks, among whom they settled, as the manners of the most numerous people must have had much influence.

That the Old Scots had nothing to do in these in-

vasions and possessions is clear. For in 447, we learn from Gildas and Beda, that they went to Ireland : nor did they return, as shewn in the next part, till 503. Even the Attacotti, or Dalreudini, the Old Scots of Argyle, were driven to Ireland at this time, as both Irish and Scottish writers confirm. This could only be in consequence of a quarrel between the Piks and Scots ; and perhaps concerning the acquired territories. Beda fully instructs us that the Piks alone were concerned in these acquisitions ; for he tells, *lib. I. c. 15. Tum subito inito ad tempus fædere cum Pictis, quos longius jam bellando pepulerant, &c.* “ that Hengist and Horsa, having formed an alliance with the Piks, whom in the course of war they had driven somewhat back,” turned their arms against the Britons. As to Ethelwerd and William of Malmsbury, who for *Piks* put *Scots*, no man will dream of setting the testimony of writers, who lived four centuries after Beda, against his. Though indeed in their time, as after shewn, the very same people, anciently called Piks, were called Scots.

In 547, Ida founded the kingdom of Bernicia. The Pikish dominions, south of Forth, were far from the seat of sovereignty, and detached by that frith. Their inhabitants being remote from protection, seem willingly to have owned the royalty of Ida, an Angle, their own countryman ; and having, for a century, enjoyed a rich country, were mollified enough to prefer a peaceful submission to the new monarch, and his little army. The kingdom of Bernicia, as is clear from Beda, extended up to the frith of Forth, on the northern bound : its western limits are not so clear. Beda tells, that Candida Casa, or Whitherne in Galloway, was in it ;¹ as was Abercorn on the Forth.²

¹ V. 24. Pecthelm was bishop of Candida Casa when Beda wrote. Malmsbury de gest. Pont. Angl. III. says Beadwulf, the last bishop, was ordained 791

² Beda IV. 26.

Clydesdale was the kingdom of Strat-clyde. To the west of Strat-clyde, the kingdom of Bernicia perhaps never extended. Present Ayrshire and Renfrewshire never appear to have acknowledged the power of the Bernician, or Northumbrian kings. Beda gives no hint concerning that large tract of country. There is indeed a passage of Beda, which Smith, in his valuable edition, refers to the country now called Cunningham in Scotland; and has accordingly in his map marked that country as the Cuningum of Beda. This passage occurs, *lib. v. c. 13*, where Beda tells the vision of a man in Cuningum, who afterwards became a monk of Melrose: and it is *Erat autem vir, in regione Nordanhumbroꝝ quæ vocatur Incuningum, religiosam cum domo sua gerens vitam*; but the Saxon translation, by Alfred, has *Cununingum*. Yet Beda unfortunately gives no hint where this region was; and Smith's idea is a mere conjecture, for it may have been some district in the north of England. Names fluctuate and change: and it is dangerous to build on a name only, without any description: not to mention that the real name given by Beda, namely, *Incuningum*, is very different from *Cunningham*. The continuator of Beda tells us that, in the year 750, *Eadbertus campum Cyil cum aliis regionibus, suo regno addidit*, 'Eadbert added the field Cyil, with other regions, to his kingdom.' Milton¹ interprets this to be Kyle; and justly observes, from the same continuator, that in 740 Edbert, king of Northumberland, was occupied in war against the Piks; and that this acquisition shews it was successful. Now the event mentioned by Beda, as happening in the country called Incuningum, falls about the year 696, eleven years after the Piks regained their possessions from the Northumbrians. If therefore Cunningham, a coun-

¹ Hist. Eng. p. 175.

try immediately on the north of Kyle, belonged to the Northumbrians still in 696, I cannot see how Edbert, in 750, should acquire Kyle from the Piks. For the Piks did not, as appears, enlarge their possessions in Galloway, from 685, till about 820, when they seized Candida Casa, and all the south, upon the decline of the Northumbrian kingdom, as William of Malmsbury shews.¹ At the same time it is very probable, that the Piks of Cunningham and Kyle were subject to the Northumbrian crown in 696; and that, between that year and 740, they had thrown off the yoke: and that in 750, Edbert, the last warlike monarch of Northumbria, while in Anglie power, recovered Kyle, and perhaps Cunningham. In 756, we know that Edbert joined Ungust I. king of the Piks, in reducing Strat-clyde; which seems to indicate that his domains bordered on that kingdom, as well as those of Ungust, and that they united their arms for reciprocal advantage. Now Edbert's kingdom did not border on Strat-clyde on the east and north, territories belonging to the Piks; but certainly did on the south of Strat-clyde, and, if he had Kyle and Cunningham, on the west. It seems certain that Ungust I. one of the bravest princes who ever held the Pikish sceptre, and who had just confirmed and enlarged his power by the conquest of Dalriada, would not have joined Edbert, if this monarch had conquered any part of his own territory, but would have turned his arms against him. Hence it appears that the Piks, against whom Edbert made war, were those of Galloway, who had assumed independence, both of the Northumbrian and Pikish crowns. Nor is there any dispute between Ungust I. and the Northumbrians, mentioned by any writer, English or Irish. As Beda, after mentioning the acquisitions of the Pikish crown

¹ Gest. Pont. Ang. lib. III.

in the south of Scotland, 685, is supposed to speak of Cunningham, as subject to the Northumbrians in 696, and implies that all things remained in the same condition 731, when he closed his work, it might seem that, about 740, the Piks in Galloway rebelled, that Edbert made war on them, and in 750 re-annexed them to his dominions. And that about 820, on the fall of the Northumbrian kingdom, they seized all Galloway, and became quite independent both of the English and Pikish kingdoms, till the twelfth century. At the same time the word *addidit*, in the passage above adduced, is against this interpretation, and implies that Kyle was a new acquisition: which induces me still to hesitate if *Incuningum* be *Cunningham*; and the reader must excuse my writing uncertainly on an uncertain subject. Being quite separated from the Pikish monarchy by the kingdoms of Strathclyde and Dalriada, the Piks of this province had their own chiefs, who were in time to be the powerful princes of Galloway. In an old charter, Irvin¹ is said to be in Galloway; and Jocelin, who compiled his life of Kentigern from two old lives, speaks of the Piks in Galloway as a detached people, when Kentigern lived, or in the sixth century. And even in the twelfth century, the princes of Galloway were only feudatory to the Scottish king.²

EPOCH IV. In 685, the Pikish monarchy acquired that extent to the south which it was ever after to hold. That year Egfrid, king of Northumberland, being defeated and slain by the Piks, a great revolution followed. Beda says, *Ex quo tempore spes cæpit et virtus regni Anglorum fluere, ac retro sublapsa referri. Nam et Picti TERRAM POSSESSIONIS SUÆ, quam tenuerunt Angli; et Scotti qui erant in Britannia, et Brito-*

¹ Goodal. Introd. Fordun. c. 10. Dalrymple's Annals. Ao. 1160.

² Dalrymple's Annals, Ao 1160. ex Chron. Stæ Crucis.

num quoque pars nonnulla, LIBERTATEM receperunt, quam et hactenus habent per annos circiter quadraginta sex. “From which time the hope and virtue of the kingdom of the Angli began to melt, and flow backward. For the Piks recovered the LAND OF THEIR POSSESSION, which the Angli had held : and the Scots who were in Britain, and a small part of the Britons, recovered their LIBERTY, which they hold still, being a space of about forty-six years.” A memorable passage ! Saint Oswald, king of Northumberland, who had lived in Ireland and Pikland, before he ascended the throne in 634, carried the Northumbrian power to great height. Before his death, in 642, after a reign of only eight years, he was, says Cuminus, *Imperator totius Britanniae*, “Emperor of all Britain :” and according to Beda, *lib. III. c. 6. Denique omnes nationes et provincias Britanniae, quae in quatuor linguas, id est, Britonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, Anglorum, divisae sunt, in ditione accepit.* “He received in subjection all the nations and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four languages, that of the Britons, of the Piks, of the Scots, of the English.” Such were the happy fruits of a king’s being a saint ! The truth is, that the two predecessors of Saint Oswald had done what these writers did not approve, in extirpating the Christian religion from their dominions, which Oswald restored, and went to the other extreme, by calling in Irish churchmen, and giving religion every encouragement ; himself a saint, whose miracles Beda relates at much length. Yet was Oswald certainly a victorious prince, as his restoring Northumbria to one great and powerful monarchy proves ; and the above panegyrics, though given by an Irish and an English churchman, in excess of gratitude and zeal, were not without grounds. He gained a bloody battle against Cædwalla, king of the Britons, or Welch : the Britons of Strat-clyde were also

subject to the kings of Northumbria, as the above passage of Beda, only applicable to them, indicates: as were their neighbours the Dalriadic Scots; two small kingdoms that required support against the Pikish power. Cuminius was a Scot, who wrote in Hyona, about 657, when he was abbot of that place; and in that character, and as a contemporary of Oswald, is an infallible witness that the British Scots acknowledged the imperial power of Saint Oswald. But as to the Piks, it is suspected the fable of the lion and the man might be applied. They had no painters of history. The assertion with regard to them is as ridiculous as with regard to the rest of England, whose six other kingdoms never acknowledged this emperor. That Pikland, a monarchy of four times the size of Northumbria, and impracticable to its power, should have been subject to its saintly king, is incredible. Oswald had been educated in Pikland and Ireland, as Beda tells; and among his favours to the Old Scots, or Irish, certainly was not so ungrateful to the Piks, as to usurp any title of authority over them. It is however extremely probable, that the independent Piks of Galloway might join the British Scots, and Strat-clyde Britons, their neighbours, in acquiring the friendship of so powerful a prince as Oswald, by acknowledging him lord paramount. The panegyric given to him is a monkish rant, but not void of foundation.

There is a curious passage in the Appendix to Nennius, which is thought to have been written in the tenth century, by a Northumbrian, as it relates to Northumbrian history. It says: "This is the Egfrid who made war against his brother-in-law, the king of the Piks, by name Brudi, and fell with all the flower of his army, the Piks with their king being victorious. And the Saxons never sent a devouring tax-gatherer to exact tribute of the Piks, from the time

of that war, which is called *Guerchlumgaran*.² General expressions argue little; but the information here is particular, that the Northumbrian kings used to receive tribute from the Piks. A writer more anxious for the cause of the Piks, than for that of truth, might argue that only the southern Piks of Lothian paid this tribute: but there is room to believe that the king of the Piks paid this tribute to the Northumbrian monarchs from Oswald's time, 634, and that the above authorities of Cuminus and Beda are much to be credited. The Northumbrian kingdom, the greatest of the heptarchy, and the name of whose subjects, Angli, prevailed over all the rest, was superior to the Pikish in wealth and arts. The Saxon Annals say, that Oswi, brother of Oswald, and his successor, in 658, subdued all Mercia, and the greatest part of the Pikish nation. This accounts for the tribute, arising most probably from the conquests of Oswi, and not from the sanctity of Oswald.

Beda, in the above passage, says the Piks recovered their POSSESSIONS; but the British Scots, and Strat-clyde Britons, their LIBERTY. In the dark ages, when Beda lived, it was thought that the Angli, Saxons, and Jutes, had actually peopled their possessions in Britain! It was thought that Ida's 10,000 men had peopled a territory, whose inhabitants could

² Echfrid ipse est qui fecit bellum contra fratrualem suum, qui erat Rex Pictorum nomine Bridei; et ibi corruit cum omni robore exercitus sui; et Picti cum rege suo victores extiterunt. Et nunquam addiderunt Saxones ambronem, ut a Pictis vectigal exigenter, a tempore istius belli: vocatur *Guerchlumgaran*. *Nen. App. c. 64.* edit. Bertram. *Ambro* means a devourer, see Du Cange; and here a greedy tax-gatherer.

Eddius, who, about the year 720, wrote a curious life of St Wilfrid, bishop of York, published by Gale in the first volume of his *Script. Hist. Angl.* mentions c. xix. a victory of king Egfrid in his first years, or about 674, over the *rebellious* Piks, who after remained subject till the year he lost his life. He speaks of the Piks as *gentes innumeræ*, and says two rivers were filled with their slain.

not be much less than a million ! This ignorance is now matter of ridicule. Beda means simply that the Pikish nation recovered their ancient property, *a land of their possession*, inhabited by themselves, though long subject to another crown. But how far south did this possession extend ? It is clear from Beda, that in 731, when he wrote, Candida Casa, or Whiteherne, was in the hands of the English. So Mailros on the south bank of the Tweed seems also to have been.¹ If therefore a line be drawn along the course of the Tweed from Berwick, and that of the river Enderic in a west direction to the river Stinfar, between Wigton and Ayrshire, it will form as accurate a bound as can be given in a debateable march, of the Pikish and Bernician possessions from 685 till 793, when the Danes first invaded Northumbria. About which time, or soon after, during the confusions of the Danish settlers in Northumbria, which lasted near two centuries, the independent Piks of Galloway extended their possessions into present Wigton and Kircudbright shires, parts of old Galloway, while those on the east seized present Roxburgh and Dumfries shires, the present southern limits of Scotland : as compactly and naturally bounded by the Tweed and Esk, on the east and west ; and mountains of Cheviot in the middle.

In 756, Ungust, king of the Piks, and Edbert, king of Northumbria, joined their arms, and besieged Alclyde, or Dunbarton, capital of the kingdom of Strathclyde, which surrendered on terms of tribute to both kings, as would seem. But the Britons retained possession, as elsewhere shewn.

The Northumbrians naturally gave the name of

¹ Beda IV. 27, V. 13. In his life of St Cuthbert, Beda mentions *terra Pictorum Nedsair*, or, as other MSS. *Niduari*, to which the saint went in a vessel from Carlisle. This appears to have been on the river Nid.

Angli to all their subjects, though in fact Piks, as Beda gives repeatedly the same name of Angli to the very people, who, he tells us expressly, were Saxons, or Jutes. Thus Beda says the Forth divided the Angli from the Piks, that is, the Anglic kingdom of Northumbria from the Pikish. But that part of Bernicia which adjoined to the Pikish kingdom was especially called *Provincia Pictorum*, and its inhabitants Piks, even while it was under the Bernician monarchs, as is clear from Beda.* Trumwin, the bishop of these Piks, resided at Abercorn, nine miles west from Edinburgh. That the Bernician or Northumbrian kings never had any territory beyond the frith of Forth, is certain from Beda, and all the ancient writers. The Piks, over whom Trumwin was bishop, were the Piks of Lothian; as the bishop of Whitherne presided over those south parts of Galloway which were subject to the Angli. But of this in the chapter of Ecclesiastic History. The history of Northumbria is known to be very obscure. It is highly probable that Ida's acquisition did not extend over Lothian, the western part of which was the frontier province of the ancient Pikish kingdom, and main entrance to it; so that it is reasonable to suppose that tract was long and warmly contested by the Pikish and Northumbrian monarchs. Therefore it seems to have been a late addition to the latter kingdom; and being specially and more lately won from the Pikish monarchy, it was called a Pikish province, and its inhabitants Piks. Roger Hoveden, in his account of the battle of the standard, 1138, calls those people *Lodonenses*, or of Lothian, whom other ancient writers call *Picti*. Roger of Chester, mentioning Edinburgh, says it was *in terra Pictorum*, in the land of the Piks. A ridge of hills running through Mid Lothian is still called

* IV. 26. Carta ap. Langhorne, Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 236.

Pentland Hills, as the frith to the North of Scotland is called Pentland frith ; of which above.

To return for a moment to Galloway : the history of that country, anciently so noted, is rather obscure. The Piks, in pouring from Caledonia down to the Humber, preferred the fertile provinces of the east to the western hills. When Ida came in and founded the kingdom of Bernicia, A. C. 547, some of the Piks, preferring the roving independence of mountaineers, seem to have retired to the western parts of Galloway. The duration of the kingdom of Stratclyde may seem remarkable, for it lay in a plain and fertile country, surrounded by hills, so that it might be expected to have fallen a prey to surrounding enemies. But this very circumstance of its being between two powerful foes, the Piks and Angli, must necessarily have protected it, and it did not submit till Piks and Angli joined against it in 756. Till the Angli came in 547, the Piks were occupied in the rich and fertile provinces of England, as we have seen. Even in the mountains of Argyle, they allowed the British Scots to re-settle in 503. Alclud had been well fortified by Theodosius; and the strength of the capital naturally defended the state. Around it the most warlike Britons, those of Valentia the frontier, were assembled ; and were so strong, that it required the joint armies of Piks and Angli to bring them to terms. These circumstances considered, we need not wonder that this small state, like many others, long existed among powerful neighbours. The Piks of Galloway lay beyond it on the southwest among numerous mountains ; but, contented with self-defence, they were not powerful enough to attempt the conquest of Stratclyde. These Piks were themselves sometimes tributary to the Northumbrian monarchs, whose dominions extended all along their southern frontier. William of Malmsbury, and

Roger of Chester, testify, that upon the decay of the Northumbrian kingdom, about the year 820, Whitherne and these southern parts were taken from the Angli by the Piks. And it is likely that about the same time they re-annexed to their domains present Roxburgh and Dumfries shires. The name of Galloway also occurs in an Irish province Galway. The etymology of names is altogether uncertain; but it may just be hinted that the name of Galloway is unknown till the eleventh century, till when, and after, the Irish churchmen were the only writers in Pikland. And as this name occurs in Ireland, it may be supposed Irish. *Gall* implies an alien; as the Galwegians, long an independent people, were to the present Scots. It is observable, that in Galway of Ireland there were also Crutheni, or Piks.*

The Wild Scots of Galloway are remarkable in our old writers and poets. The people of Carrick were noted, two or three centuries ago, for speaking Irish, which was spoken by none of their neighbours. They seem to have past from the opposite shore of Ireland by degrees, as many Scots have since passed into Ireland, but when it is impossible, and of no moment, to determine. The rest of that vast tract, anciently called Galloway, speak the broad Scottish, or Piko-Gothic, though with a peculiar accent, which is as likely to be the Buchan, or genuine Scandinavian dental pronunciation, as any. Those used to the Irish accent think it Irish; those used to the Welch think it Welch. The names over Galloway, save a few in Carrick, are purely Gothic. Cunningham, the country of Cunnyngs, as our old poets call rabbits. Kyle, Beda's continuator calls Campus Cyil: it may be from a person's name, from the old German *Kel*, *cavus*, (Wachter), or the Scandinavian *Kil*, a narrow angle, (Ihre).

* O'Connor's Dissertations.

It may be proper, before closing this chapter, to give a hint or two concerning the settlements of the Piks in Ireland. Mr O'Connor, in his map, marks two colonies of Crutheni, the one in the northern extremity of Ireland, the other in Galway. From Probus, in his life of St Patrick, and Adomnan, in that of St Columba, it is also clear that there were considerable settlements of the Crutheni, or Piks, in Ireland. The Pikish Chronicle, as we have seen, dates their settlement in the time of Brudi I. or about 210, which seems very probable. The extent and history of these settlements are unknown, but they must have been pretty considerable. Adomnan mentions Echuislaide, a king of the northern Crutheni. The Welch writers call them *Gwydhyl Phictiaid*, or Irish Piks. Price, in his description of Wales, tells from Welch annals, that about 540, these Irish Piks, and the Irish Scots, ravaged the shores of Cardigan; and then the isle of Man, whence they were driven by Caswalhon Lhawhir, or Caswalhon with the long hand, who slew Serigi, their king, with his own hand.¹

The Annals of Tighernac, and of Ulster, have many notices concerning these Crutheni, or Piks in Ireland.

The first I find is at the year 562, "The battle of Moindor Lothair, upon the Cruthens, by the Nells of the north [of Ireland]. Bædan, son of Kin, with two other Cruthen chiefs, fought against the rest of

¹ Ware, in his notes to the Fragments of St Patrick, says, "Præter Pictos Albanienses, qui in Annalibus Ultoniensibus nonnunquam Picti, sed plerumque Cruithnei, appellantur, erant et olim Picti quidem Hibernici, qui Cruithnei etiam vocabantur. Horum regionem, in parte boreali Ultoniæ sitam, Probus Cruthenorum regionem nuncupat. De Pictis Hibernicis *Y Gwydhyl Phictiaid* a Britannis dictis, vide Humf. Luid in Anglica sua Walliæ Descr. p. 14. 15." And see Usher, Ant. Eccl. Brit. p. 302, edit. 1687, who rightly observes, that Adomnan distinguishes the *Picti* from the *Crutheni*. The Annals of Ulster, in Latin parts, always use the *Picti*, for Piks, and the *Crutheni* for Irish Piks; but in Irish parts the context only can mark the difference, both being called *Cruithne*.

the Cruthens. The cattle and booty of the Eolargs were given to them of Tirconnel and Tirowen, conductors, for their leading, as wages."

Next is 628, "Battle of Fedha Evin, in which Maolcaich, son of Skanlan, king of the Cruthens, was victor, the Dalriads fell with Kenneth Keir, their king."

At 643 is "the death of Loken, son of Finin, king of the Cruthens."

At 645, "the wounding of Scannal, son of Bec, son of Frachra, king of the Cruthens."

At 665, "death of Maolduin Eoch Iarlach, king of the Cruthens."

At 667, "War of Feroti, between Ulster and the Cruthens."

At 680 is mention of Dungal, son of Scannal, king of the Cruthens.

At 681, "War of Rathmor at Maghlin against the Britons, where fell Cathaso, son of Maolduin, king of the Cruthens."

In 691, Dalriada was wasted by the Cruthens, and people of Ulster.

In 707, Canis Cuarain, king of the Cruthens, was killed.

In 709, Fiachra was slain by the Cruthens.

In 730 was a battle between Dalriada and the Cruthens, at Marbuilg, where the Cruthens were conquered.

In 748, Cathaso, son of Aillila, king of the Cruthens, was killed at Ruhbehech.

In 773, Flahrus, son of Fiachra, king of the Cruthens, died.

In 807, is the last mention of the Cruthens, who vanished beneath the Danish power, and, being in the north of Ireland, first felt its rage.

All the above dates may be placed too soon by three or four years, as usual in these Annals, to which the dates are affixed by a late hand.

CHAPTER X.

The Pikish Language.

EVERY one, who has been in North Britain, knows that the Lowlanders of that country are as different from the Highlanders, as the English are from the Welch. The race is so extremely distinct as to strike all at first sight. In person the Lowlanders are tall and large, with fair complexions, and often with flaxen, yellow, and red hair, and blue eyes; the grand features of the Goths, in all ancient writers. The lower classes of the Highlanders are generally diminutive, if we except some of Norwegian descent; with brown complexions, and almost always with black curled hair, and dark eyes. In mind and manners the distinction is as marked. The Lowlanders are acute, industrious, sensible, erect, free. The Highlanders indolent, slavish,¹ strangers to industry.

The chiefs and gentry, and some even of the inferior classes, must not be confounded with those indigenous beings, by the observation of many travellers, of a different stature and complexion, sufficiently indicating their Norwegian origin.

The Lowlanders amount to two thirds of the inhabitants of Scotland: and, if all history were utterly extinguished, we should know to a certainty from their persons, manners, and language, that they came

¹ It is surprising that the Highlanders are perhaps the only mountaineers who are strangers to "the mountain-nymph, sweet Liberty." Ever the ready tools of despotism, their conduct and condition present a sad contrast to those of the Norwegians, Swiss, &c.

from the opposite continent. Of that continent the south of Norway is by much the nearest part to Scotland; and plain sense would lead us to conclude they came from thence. Language is of all others the surest mark of the origin of nations. Had the Lowlanders of Scotland been originally Celts, either Gael, or Cumri, no change, or chance, could have introduced the Gothic tongue among them. In vain do some of our superficial writers dream that they received their tongue from their southern neighbours: and to such a degree has their ignorance gone, as to think that, when Malcolm III. married an English princess, the English became the court, and then the common language! A language pass from a score of people to more than a million! If any foreigner of learning happens to peruse this work, he will be apt to think that I have created a shadow to fight with. But the case is real: and such is the state of learning at present in Scotland! That the Lowlanders of Scotland were not Celts, who received their speech from their southern neighbours, requires no proof; as no such matter ever happened in any period, or country. The Celts are most tenacious of their speech and manners. In Ireland, where there were numerous settlements of English, the English speech was so far from prevailing, that ordinances were obliged to be given¹ against adoption of the Celtic dress and language, which were prevailing over the English; as those of the most numerous people always do. The people of the plains of Ire-

¹ Irish Statutes; and see Spenser's State of Ireland. Lynche, in his *Cambrensis Eversus*, says, "Barnab. Rich, Descr. Hib. p. 34, author est decem Anglos citius Hibernorum se moribus accommodare, quam unum Hibernum Anglorum ritus amplecti." The cause is evident, for an indolent life has supreme charms for the vulgar, who in advanced society are forced to work for subsistence, but in uncivilized need only hunt, or steal.

land speak the Gaëlic, as well as those of the mountains ; and in the most mountainous part of Ireland, the north, English, and Scottish, are chiefly spoken, while Celtic is the speech of the southern and midland plains. If such be the case with Ireland, a country conquered by the English, and widely colonized by them, what must have been the case in Scotland, a country unconquered, and uncolonized, and ever inimical to England, till the happy junction of the crowns ? Had the Lowlanders of Scotland been Celts, they would have viewed the English language with utter abhorrence and aversion. But this needs not be insisted on ; as, putting all history aside, we have infallible marks that they are not Celts but Goths.

More plausible is the opinion of those who think the Lowlanders of Scotland real Saxons from England. Such say that the southern parts belonged to the Northumbrian kingdom, and were peopled with Saxons, (they mean Angles) along with the rest of that kingdom. That this could not be the case is clear : for Ida's army did not exceed 10,000 men, of which not one quarter could be settled in the south of Scotland, if any settled there at all. The Lothians are by Beda called *Provincia Pictorum* ; and Trumwin, whose see was there, was *Episcopus Pictorum*. When the Piks, in 685, recovered all the south of Scotland, Beda says they regained, or re-annexed to their crown, *terram possessionis suæ*, "the land of their possession ;" which shews it was always possessed by them, though subject to the Northumbrian kings. In all events, the phrase positively forbids any interpretation, that, after 685, the Angli had any footing there. But this is vain argumentation, for it has been shewn above, that the Piks, a Gothic swarm, long confined by Roman power, as soon as that mound was removed, burst like a torrent over the fertile plains of England, and peopled that country down to

the Humber; though their name, like that of the Belgæ, was lost in that of the new invaders, long before Beda wrote. In present Renfrew, and Lanerkshire, it is clear that the Angles never had any footing. No towns, nor possessions there, are ever mentioned by Beda. In Ayrshire, the Piks of Galloway, mentioned by Jocelin, lived: the kingdom of Strat-clyde spread over the rest. But so gross is our ignorance, that the Piks, so remarkable in the Roman page, and in that of Beda and the other early writers, are totally forgotten by our superficial antiquaries. The dominion of a country is totally different from the population of it. The inhabitants of Scotland, south of the friths, must amount to half a million; and it is questioned, if ancient population was greater than modern. But no one can ever imagine that a quarter of Ida's army, or 2,500 men, could have peopled that tract in two centuries, or before Beda's time. The question is, who were then the inhabitants, among whom those 2,500 men were as a drop in the sea? It has been shewn, from Gildas and Beda, that they were Piks.

But how came the Gothic language to be spoken all along the Eastern Lowlands of Scotland, up to its extremity? This embarrasses our antiquaries. One¹ will have it that Saxon merchants settled there, and occasioned this change! Others, not quite so absurd, say that, at the Norman conquest, many of the English fled into Scotland, where they introduced their language. But those English were people of rank; and it is known, that French was then the language spoken by such in England before the conquest;² so, if by a special miracle, a hundred or two had spread their speech among a million of the

¹ Mr Macpherson, *Introd. to Hist. of Brit. and Irel.* p. 91.

² Warton's *Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. I.

common people, that speech would have been the French. And, after all, King Dovenald Ban, 1093, obliged all these foreigners to leave the kingdom.³

But there are two passages of ancient English historians which deserve especial notice.

The first is of Simeon of Durham, who wrote about 1164. He says, that after Malcolm III. had ravaged the English frontiers in 1070, the prisoners were so many, "that Scotland is filled with male and female servants of English race ; so that, even at this day, I will not say no little village, but not even a hovel can be found without them."⁴ But supposing these prisoners to amount to 100,000, that number could not have introduced a language among a million of people ; for if a language is perpetuated, it is an infallible sign, that those who speak it are the most numerous : so that more than a million of prisoners would have been required to effectuate this. A maid, or man servant, in every hut, must have spoken as the family did : but no man can suppose that the family assumed the speech of its servant. When the Franks poured into Gaul, and the other Goths into Italy, Spain, &c. the people were to them as twenty to one, and the speech of the old inhabitants overcame of course. In such instances, the language of the inferior people prevails from their numbers : but the case is widely different here. These English captives, as such, were for the time inferior to their masters ; but their numbers were comparatively so few, that it is impossible their speech could prevail. Inferior in numbers, as in situation, their language would rather be matter of aversion and derision, than of imitation : and no doubt, at the very first, they tried to accom-

³ Dalrymple's Annals.

⁴ Simeon Dun. Col. 201. sub. Anno 1070. " Repleta est ergo Scotia servis et ancillis Anglici generis ; ita ut, etiam usque hodie, nulla non dico villula, sed nec domuncula, sine his valeat inveniri."

moderate even their dialect to that of their masters, in order to abandon an odious distinction, and to conciliate favour. That prisoners should introduce a language into a country, would be a phænomenon in history, totally unknown in ancient or modern times, and cannot be admitted even in theory, far less in fact.

The other passage is extremely curious and singular. It is of William of Newburgh, who wrote about the year 1200. He says, "There was in the army of William, king of Scots, [1173] a great number of English; for the towns and boroughs of the Scottish kingdom are known to be inhabited by the English. The Scots, taking the occasion of the king's absence, revealed their innate hatred against them, which they had dissembled for fear of the king; and slew as many as they could find, those who could escape flying to the royal castles." Malcolm III. 1056, and Edgar, 1098, were married to English ladies, as were Alexander I. and David I. These princes had a natural and laudable favour for the English; and, being sensible of their superiority in the arts of life, had apparently used all means to induce them to settle in their kingdom, and forward these arts there. The knowledge of these arts had gradually past from the south: from Italy to France, from France to England, and so from England to Scotland. In the countries more immediately Gothic, borough towns are of late origin. In Germany they are not older than the reign of Henry the Falconer, or about 930. In France, boroughs or corporation towns were in-

* Lib. II. c. 34. "Erat in Gulielmi Scotorum regis exercitu ingens Anglorum numerus: regni enim Scottici oppida et burgi ab Anglis habitari noscuntur. Occasione ergo temporis Scotti innatum, sed metu regio dissimulatum, in illos odium declarantes, quotquot incidebant perimerunt; refugientibus in munitiones regias ceteris qui evadere potuerunt."

roduced by Louis the Gross, about 1120. But it is to be suspected that they passed from Germany to England. At any rate, borough towns and corporations are not older in England than the eleventh century at most : and they seem almost instantly to have past from thence into Scotland. The Scottish monarchs, with a patriotic view of advancing the interests of their kingdom, gave boroughs with due privileges to English merchants, tradesmen, and mechanics, in like manner as the English did to French and Flemish. These towns and boroughs must be carefully distinguished from the old towns, which even in England were no better than villages, without any privileges or corporations whatever. As the English monarchs gave such boroughs to the Flemings, and other foreigners, for the advantage of mechanics and commerce, so did the Scottish to the English. The Danes and Swedes are, in like manner, indebted for their early boroughs, commerce and arts, to German merchants from the Hanse, and other towns of the north of Germany : and these advantages were unknown to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, till the thirteenth century, for such was their gradual progress northward. Now these burghs and towns, inhabited by the English, could never exceed fifty ; though half that number would appear nearer the truth to those who know how few such were in Scotland till the time of the Stuarts. And any one who considers how small even Edinburgh, the capital, was before that time, will think that the medium of 1000 English to each town will exceed, and not fall short of the fact. Say then there were 50,000 English inhabitants of burghs and towns, and 100,000 English captives used as servants in Scotland, in the twelfth century, the number will be 150,000. But even imagining this prodigious number, which every cool enquirer will allow to be in all probability double the

truth, their language would in that of a million, or 1,100,000 people, the real amount of the Scottish Lowlanders, be as nothing. These Lowlanders, far from even imitating their language, would detest it as foreign and inimical, as this very passage of Newburgh too plainly proves ; and the English would rather abandon their dialect as an odious distinction, than spread it through the country. In England the French and Flemings introduced no language, but on the contrary soon lost their own. In Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Germans made no alteration on the language. An author would be regarded as a visionary in those countries, if he were to advance so weak a dream. The analogy as to Scotland is positive, direct, and mathematical.

It has been said that some Danes may have settled in the east parts of Scotland, and assisted in bringing in the Gothic tongue. But this is not only *gratis dictum*, without one shadow of the smallest authority, but can be shewn to be absolutely erroneous. The Norwegians, along with the Orkneys, held Caithness, Sutherland, and a part of Ross, for some time. Sigurd added these domains to his earldom of Orkney, about 920 ; and they were held by his successors for three or four centuries : the inhabitants of these tracts are mingled Norwegians and Piks ; though these northern parts, being separated by Murray Frith from the Lowlands of Scotland, and adjoining to the Celtic part, the Gaëlic tongue has lately gained much ground there. But that any Norwegians, or Danes, ever settled in the parts south of Murray Frith, there is not a shadow of authority. The Moravians were Piks, as Fordun tells, lib. II. c. 30. During the early Pikish period of our history, the Danes and Norwegians appear to have regarded Pikland as possessed by their own people, and do not seem to have molested it. In the ninth century they began their

incursions ; but were constantly repelled by the Pikish inhabitants, a people as martial as themselves, and who alone, of the surrounding nations, seem to have matched them in arms. They were always regarded as the bitterest enemies, and could never effectuate any settlement whatever ; except those on the north and west above mentioned ; far less settle in such numbers as to make any alteration on the language of the country.

As those who have travelled in Scandinavia think all our Lowlanders, Scandinavians, from identity of speech and manners ; so, from a great resemblance in these matters, those who have travelled in Germany think them Germans. But the nearest part of Germany is twice as far from Scotland as the south of Scandinavia ; and to think that any German colony arrived in, or after, the Roman period of our history, can be shewn to be subversive of all historic evidence concerning North Britain. Our language has many German words, as the German and Scandinavian are but dialects of the same tongue. We have old German words not to be found in the Scandinavian ; and old Scandinavian not to be found in the German. But of this presently.

In short, to wind up the confutation of these superficial opinions, advanced merely because their assertors, had not examined the matter, it is not the embroidery, or the sewing of the robe, which must be attended to, but the cloth of which it is made. These adventitious settlements, granting them all for the sake of argument, would, if the body of the people had been Celtic, have been lost in the number ; and would have assumed the Celtic tongue, as the Belgic, Pikish, and Danish settlers in Ireland ; and as the English themselves, though a numerous and conquering people, would have also done, had not special laws been made against it. Language de-

pende on the universal population of a country ; not on scattered settlements of adventitious people. Our Scottish antiquists are to this day enemies of the Piks ; and would allow them nothing if they could. It is their trade to fight against all authorities, all truth, and common sense. On this occasion, being really ignorant of that grandest feature of our history, that the Piks were a Gothic people, they have erred egregiously ; and had recourse to absurd ingenuity, instead of reading every thing that could be read on the subject, in order to find facts. One would have imagined that some one of them might have blundered on the truth : but in fact they have, like Falstaff, a natural alacrity in sinking ; and, in antiquarian matters, it is an infallible rule that truth can never be discovered by ignorance.

It has been amply shewn that the Piks were a Gothic people ; and the inhabitants of all present Scotland and its isles. The Gaël, or Celts in Scotland, do not now exceed one quarter of the people. The Lowlanders of Scotland amount to two-thirds of its inhabitants. Of the other third being Highlanders, and people of the Isles, a great part consists of Goths, though now using the Celtic tongue. For the Old Scots, who came into Argyle, in 503, were from the north of Ireland ; and were mixt with Crutheni, or Piks, inhabitants of these parts, though the tongue had been lost in the surrounding Celtic. In the Hebrides and in Argyle, and the north of Scotland, the Norwegians were lords, for four centuries from the ninth : and they, in like manner, lost their speech among the more numerous Celts. When these parts returned to the Scottish crown, the inhabitants remained as before. The chief families in the Highlands are all of Norwegian extract. The Celtic *Mac* is nothing : it is the name itself we must judge from. Thus the Mac Leods are so called from Liód Earl of Orkney :

the Mac Sweyns, Mac Neils, with a score of others, all bear the *Mac*, with a Norwegian name. Even when the second name is Celtic, it was often taken by a Norwegian to gratify his subjects, or bestowed by a Highland bard ; as the Mac Donalds are known to be direct male descendants of Reginald, Earl of Orkney. These Highland bards, it is well known, will alter a plain Gothic name to a Celtic one, in a moment ; and are very ready in aspersing people with this honour. A part of the Isles still speaks the Gothic tongue, namely, the whole Orkney and Shetland Isles. The other parts speak Gaëlic ; but of them a great part are Goths, though their speech be lost in that of the most numerous people.

There are in Scotland and its isles, of people, by the latest and surest calculations, about	- - -	1,600,000
Lowlanders upward of two thirds, or about	- - -	1,100,000
Highlanders and Islanders		500,000
Of whom the people of the Orkney and Shetland Isles, all using the Gothic tongue, may be	- - -	30,000
Piks and Norwegians of Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, the Hebud Isles, &c. &c. now using the Celtic, about		70,000
		100,000
Real Gaël, or Celts in Scotland, being } a quarter of its people,		400,000

These Gaël are most slavish and poor, natural ef-

fects of their indolence. The better ranks in the Highlands and Western Isles are almost all of Norwegian race, which is in fact the very same with the Pikish.

To proceed to a few remarks on the Pikish tongue, let us begin with observing, that the Gothic Language divides itself into Two Grand Branches, namely, The GERMAN, and The SCANDINAVIAN. Of these the German deserves the superiority upon many accounts : 1. The Scythians must have begun the population of Germany long before they entered Scandinavia, and they passed through a part of ancient Germany, on the east, before they went over to Scandinavia. That part of them, which peopled the vast extent of Germany, had arrived at its western extremity as soon, if not sooner than those who peopled only the southern tract of Scandinavia, had gained its western extremity. 2. The Basternæ, who peopled Scandinavia, were only held a fifth part of the Germans. 3. The German, of course the more ancient dialect, also proves this antiquity^{*} by its great resemblance of the Asiatic tongues ; as the old Scythic, or Gothic, was an Asiatic tongue. 4. The superior antiquity of the German also appears from this, that it bears far more resemblance to the Gothic of Ulphilas, the genuine ancient Scythic, than the Scandinavian does. 5. We have written monuments of the German, from the eighth and ninth centuries till now ; but none of the Scandinavian before the twelfth century. 6. The many countries peopled from Germany, namely, France, England, Italy, and Spain, in a great degree, render the German a more important and interesting dialect than that of Scandinavia, from whence only Scotland, Denmark, and a few isles, were peopled.

^{*} See a learned and accurate Memoir of Mr Tercier, shewing that, of all European tongues, the German preserves most vestiges of its antiquity, in Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscr. Tome xxiv.

From the ancient German dialect of the Gothic spring, 1. The Tudesque. 2. Francic. 3. Belgic. 4. Anglo-Belgic, or, as we call it, Anglo-Saxon. 5. Swabian. 6. Swiss. 7. Frisic. 8. Modern German. 9. Modern Dutch. 10. Modern English.

From the ancient Scandinavian dialect of the Gothic spring, 1. Swedish, which resembles the Icelandic, or oldest Scandinavian, more than the Danish. 2. Norwegian. 3. Pikish. 4. Danish, now much mingled with German. 5. Icelandic; which, from the very remote and detached situation of the country, has been kept the purest of all, and is justly esteemed the standard of the Scandinavian tongue. 6. Modern Scotch, or corrupted Pikish, as spoken in Angus, Mearns, Buchan, &c.

These two Grand Dialects have always been different, as is well shewn by the learned author of the *Dissertatio de lingua Danica*, to be found at the end of Gunlaug's Saga, *Hafniæ*, 1775, 4to. The Scandinavian was in the middle ages termed Danish; then Norse, as Norwegian; and latterly Icelandic, because now found in the greatest purity in that remote island. An old writer^{*} says, that William I. Duke of Normandy, when he heard Heriman, a Saxon general, speak Danish, asked in admiration, *quis eum Daciscæ regionis linguam, Saxonibus inexpertem, docuerit?* "Who had taught him the Danish tongue, unused by the Saxons?" He who enquires into the origins of the English tongue will find them in Flanders and Germany: but those of the Scotch must be traced in Scandinavia.

In both these Grand Dialects of the Gothic, nouns and verbs are declined and inflected by changing the terminations, as in Greek and Latin. The Modern English and the Modern Scotch form the sole ex-

^{*} Dudo Gest. Norm. apud Du Chesne.

ceptions, being changed only by prepositions and auxiliary verbs. This singularity of these tongues passed from the French to the English at the Norman conquest; and from the French and English to the Scottish.

A curious distinction between the German dialect and the Scandinavian is, that the latter has, properly speaking, no letter P in it. Not above twenty words begin with P; and they are all names of foreign places, or real foreign words, as Petland, so called by the inhabitants; Papa, a foreign word, father, applied to a priest; and the like. And even in these, P is pronounced V, Vetland, Vava. The Scandinavian has also no W at all. The Runic alphabet wants E, G, P, Q, W, V, X, Z. On the contrary the Gothic of Ulphilas has both P and W; as have also the Anglo-Belgic, of which so many noble specimens remain; and the Tudesque. These tongues have also E, G, P, Q, W, Z. The later Anglo-Belgic has X and V. But V in particular, which supplies both P and W in the Scandinavian, is unknown to the Gothic of Ulphilas; Tudesque; and oldest Anglo-Belgic. The Scandinavian has also no C, which is a superfluous letter in every language having *k* and *s*; and no Q, X, or Z; for *q*, it uses *kv*; for X, *ks*; for *z*, *sd*. The Scandinavian has but one supernumerary letter þ, TH; the Gothic of Ulphilas has G, or Y, open, thus written in Anglo-Belgic small letter *z*, and in our Scottish *z*, which being the identic form of Z, has made our ignorant printers of old poetry totally confound our language by putting Z in its place instead of Y. Ulphilas has also ψ, TH; ω, or QU, which begins so many words in the old Scottish; and X, or CH. But the total want of P and W may be looked on as the grand literal distinction between the Scandinavian and the German dialects of the Gothic. And this seems a remarkable instance of the effect of

climate upon language; for P and W are the most open of the labial letters; and V is the most shut. The former requires an open mouth: the latter may be pronounced with the mouth almost closed, which rendered it an acceptable substitute in the cold clime of Scandinavia, where the people delighted, as they still delight, in gutturals and dentals. The climate rendered their organs rigid and contracted; and cold made them keep their mouths as much shut as possible.

Hence also another grand distinction between the German and the Scandinavian; namely, the length of the words in the former, and their shortness in the latter dialect. Long words, as a late author very justly observes, are infallible proofs of an original and ancient tongue. In time by frequent use, and that desire of saying much with little effort, which is so natural in a cold climate especially, words are contracted by degrees. The words of Ulphilas are as long, or longer, than the German, or Tudesque. The Anglo-Belgic words are shorter. The Scandinavian shorter still.

The Piks, being divided from Scandinavia by a wide sea, and being planted in North Britain, in an early period, when navigation was only undertaken for settlements, or ravages, and not to maintain intercourse, they were consequently quite detached from their progenitors. At first the Cumri were their only neighbours in the island; but fear kept them at a distance; and the Cumri, who only knew them as ravagers, could have little or no intercourse with them. About 412, the Southern Piks were converted to Christianity by Cumraig missionaries; and it is likely that a few Latin and Cumraig words might now appear among them. About 430, the Piks, bursting from the mountains, to which the Roman power had long confined them, poured over the plains, driving the Cumri to

the western shores, and peopled the country down to the Humber. The Belgic Britons were now their neighbours; and the Piks, softened by a fertile country, would soon begin, in their southern settlements, to adopt the arts and manners of that more polished people. With these arts and manners, many new words would creep in, from the German dialect of their civilized neighbours. The Cumri, their old neighbours, were a barbarous pastoral people; the Belgæ, even in Cæsar's time, an agricultural people, and now polished as Roman provincials with every elegance and luxury. These Piks, who were divided by the Wall of Gallio from their brethren, would naturally regard themselves as detached from their own kingdom, and as inhabitants of a new. The Belgæ being the most numerous people, their speech would prevail as such among the detached Piks; the more especially as it was but a superior dialect of their own tongue. When Ida arrived with his Angles, a century after, the progress of the Belgic language among these Piks would of course have been great.

When Beda wrote in 731, or about three centuries after this southern settlement of the Piks, he informs us there were four tongues spoken in Britain, namely, English, Pikish, British or Cumraig, and Scottish or Irish. We see from this, that, as the name of Angli was given by Beda to all the possessors of South Britain, save the Welch, this speech, which Beda calls Anglic, was in fact the Belgic, with a new name. *Nomina non mutant rem.* Beda calls the Jutes of Kent and the south; Saxons of the middle parts; and real Angli of the north, all Angli promiscuously. And it is clear from him, that one speech had now prevailed among them all; because Jutes, Saxons, Angles, were but as drops in the sea of Belgæ, and their language would vanish in less than a century. That this speech, which Beda calls Anglic, was not Anglic, is known

to all. It is improperly called Saxon by the learned ; but all grant, and this very name implies, that it was not the Scandinavian dialect of the Gothic, as it must have been, had it been Anglic, from Anglen, a Danish province ; but was the German dialect of the Gothic, Saxon by name, but in fact Belgic. Cædmon wrote in it in this century, when Beda lived ; and Alfred and others after ; so that we can judge of it perfectly. It is German-Gothic ; and not Scandinavian-Gothic. The Saxon was in fact German-Gothic, as well as the Belgic. They were the same tongue ; but it is the real propriety of the name that is contended for. Asser, who wrote the century after Beda, but lived among the West Saxons, as Beda among the Angles, calls this Anglic of Beda repeatedly Saxon. We have no writer who lived among the Jutes, else we should have it called Jutic. The fact is, all the settlers spoke this language in a century or so after their arrival ; and of course all gave it their own name. This Belgic must have, long before Beda's time, made great progress among the Piks of Northumbria, from their detached situation, from their fewness when compared with the Belgæ, and other causes above specified. Less than three centuries will, in such situations, totally change a language ; much more alter one dialect of the Gothic into another, as the example of the Normans in France may shew. No wonder then that Beda should call that speech Anglic, which Asser calls Saxon ; and should specially distinguish this Anglic, spoken all over England in his time, from Northumbria to Cornwall, and Kent, from the Pikish, or old and broad Scandinavian of Pikland. For though the people of Northumbria, the greatest domain of the Angli, were really Piks, yet from their situation, separate government, and other causes, their speech had assumed the Belgic hue, while the old Piks retained their

Scandinavian original speech. From a similar situation the German has greatly gained, and is daily gaining, on the Danish; while the Swedish remains purer.

The Saxon Chronicle was certainly begun, if not completed, in Northumbria, for it distinguishes the South Humbrians from *Us*, as it expresses, a term only applicable when a work was written in Northumbria. It seems to have been begun in the eleventh, and finished in the twelfth century. Its language is Belgic, not Scandinavian. The Yorkshire dialect of the English is full of Scandinavian words; but in Beda's time, when language was rude, this distinction would be little striking.

Beda produces one word in the Pikish language, namely, *Peanvahel*, the name of a town at the east end of the wall of Antoninus, now, as is thought, Kineil. This name has been said to be Welch; but most falsely, for neither *Pean* nor *Vahel* are to be found in the Welch language. *Pen* is, in Welch, the head of a hill, the top of an object;¹ but no *vahel*, or *fahel*, is to be found in that tongue. The Welch for wall, is *gwal*, a modern word derived from the Latin *vallum*, or from the Gothic *veal*, as our *wall*; as almost all words in the pretended Celtic are either Gothic, or Latin. Baxter says, that, in Welch, *Pen-y-wall* is the head of the wall;² but this is not *Peanvahel*. Beda, who specially distinguishes the Welch as a different tongue from the Pikish, and lived in a country bordering on both Piks and Welch, certainly knew the Pikish tongue from the Welch. Nennius, *cap.* 19, speaking of this, says the wall was called in

¹ So is *Pinne*, or *Penne*, in German. The Celtic is quite full of Gothic words.

² Baxter was a true Celtic etymologist; witness his deriving *Blackness* from *Balg na isc*, "venter aquæ." *Stirling*, from *Es trev Alaun*, "Oppidum Alauna!"

Welch *Gual*, which is the mere Roman *vallum*, with the Welch G prefixed ; and that the town was, in Welch, called *Pengaul*, a very different word from *Peanvahel*. The Pikish word is broad Gothic, *Paena*, “to extend,” *Ihre* ; and *Vahel*, a broad sound of *veal*, the Gothic for “wall,” or of the Latin *vallum*, contracted *val* : hence it means, “the extent, or end of the wall,” as the Piks, who followed it to the south-east, would naturally term it ; for they would not follow it to the west, where the Britons of Strat-clyde dwelled. The English name, as Beda says, was *Penveltun*, which is merely the Pikish, in a softer dialect with *tun*, or *town*, at the end of it ; and it is amazing our Welch dreamers do not prove the English language to be Welch, for the English name is far nearer to the Welch than the Pikish. But to leave this trifling.

The nature and design of this work forbid my entering on a formal dissertation concerning the Pikish language ; and I shall therefore close this subject with a few brief remarks. The earliest remain we have of the Lowland Scottish, or modern Pikish, is the poem of Barbour, written in 1375. Here is a specimen, faithfully copied from the MS. in the Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh, dated 1489.

A ! Fredome is a nobill thing !
 Fredome mayss man to haiff lyking.
 Fredome all solace to man giffis :
 He levys at ess, that frely levys.
 A noble hart may haiff nane ese,
 Na ellys nocht that may him plese,
 Gyff Fredome failyhe ; for fre lyking
 Is yharnyt our all othir thing.
 Na he, that ay hass levyt fre,
 May nought knaw weill the propyrte,
 The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
 That is cowplyt to foule thyrl dome.
 Bot gyff he had assayit it,
 Than all perquer he suld it wyt,

And suld think Fredome mar to pryss,
Than all the gold in warld that is.

Of this, as of all our old Scotch language, the GRAMMAR is perfectly ENGLISH. That is, there are no inflections of verbs and nouns, as in the German and Scandinavian dialects; but their purpose is served by prepositions and auxiliary verbs. The grammar of any language is its most essential and permanent form; and nothing is more certain than that the old Scotch language derives its grammar from the English, as the English does from the French, and the French from the Italian. The origins of the English language have never been enquired into with any degree of labour and minute attention; nor the time marked when the French grammar prevailed over the Belgic, or, as it is called, Saxon, which had inflections, as the other Gothic dialects. This Belgic, or Old English, had certainly some inflections, down to the twelfth century, though many of them had worn out before; for the grammar of a language is very difficult to change, and it took three centuries at least totally to change the English, namely, from the eleventh, when French was first spoken by the court and nobility before the Conquest, and after by all, save the common people, till the fourteenth century, when some inflections still remain in the work of Robert de Brunne. It must, however, be remarked, that the inflections of the later Gothic are few; and that the genius of that language often admitted prepositions, and auxiliary verbs, from the first. But it was infallibly the influence of the French speech, which has no inflections in nouns, that led us to discard them. The French, Italian, and Spanish, have inflections of verbs; and so have we, though very few: and in this we abide by the later Gothic, while they follow the Latin; of which all these tongues are but corrupt and rustic dialects.

From the reign of Malcolm III. 105, to the end of that of Alexander III. 1286, most of the Scottish monarchs were married to English ladies ; and a continual intercourse prevailing between the kingdoms, from their natural situation and connection, it is then no wonder that the language of a kingdom, so very superior to Scotland as England was, and is in all respects, should have been always gaining ground there. The Danish language is now very much German, owing to the same causes. The house of Oldenburg is a German house ; as Malcolm III. from his long residence in England, was almost an Englishman, as to manners, &c. The borough towns of Scotland were, as we have seen, tenanted by Englishmen. All these causes, no doubt, contributed to introduce gradually English words and idioms, nay such small grammar as the English bears, into the Pikish or Scandinavian dialect of the north of Britain. The English was also a written tongue, while there is no room to suppose that the Pikish ever was, being spoken in a rude and barbarous kingdom ; while the Belgic, or English, had been long the written language of a great and civilized country. When it was above shewn that the Lowland Scots could not receive their language from the English, it was not meant to deny that they received the form of their *written* language from the English. All that was intended to be proved was, that, as the Piks spoke a dialect of that very language before, the English improvements of that dialect were natural and easy ; whereas, had they spoken the Celtic, the English language would have gained no ground. For the causes above given are sufficient to alter one dialect almost wholly into another ; but by no means to introduce a new language.

As we have no work written in Scotland in the common tongue prior to the eleventh century, when the Belgic, or English, had begun in all appearance

to prevail, the Pikish is beyond doubt a lost language, or rather a lost dialect of the Scandinavian, as the Spartan is a lost dialect of the Greek. But one half of the words, still used in the remote Lowlands of Scotland, are not English, or Belgic, but Pikish, or Scandinavian. The Pikish never being a written dialect, it must be sought for only in the vulgar mouth; and it were well worth the curiosity of some man of skill to give us a glossary of the uncommon words used from the Forth to Murray Frith. We find in our old Scottish poets, and in provincial poetry of Scotland, that nearly half the words are Scandinavian, not English. A Scottishman can learn the Scandinavian in very short time;¹ while an Englishman finds it difficult. In Icelandic the Lord's Prayer runs thus:

Fader uor som est i Himlum. 1. Halgad warde thitt nama. 2. Tilkomme thitt Rikie. 3. Ski thin vilie so som i Himmalam, so och po Iordannè. 4. Wort dach-lica brodh gif os i dagh. 5. Och forlat os uora skuldar, so som ogh vi forlate them os skildighe are. 6. Ogh in-led os ikkie i frestalsan. 7. Utan frels os ifra ondo. Amen.

In Tudesque thus:

Fater unser thu thar bist in Himile. 1. Si geheila-got thin namo. 2. Queme thin Rihhi. 3. Si thin willo so her in himile, ist o si her in erdu. 4. Unsar brot ta-galihhaz gib uns huitu. 5. Inti furlaz uns nusara sculdi so uuir furlazames unsaron sculdigon. 6. Inti ni gi-leitest unsih in costunga. 7. Uzouh arlosi unsi fon ubile. Amen.

¹ "Accedit linguæ cognatio, quæ facit ut Scoti in Suediam advenientes Suedice loqui facillime discant." Loccen. Ant. Sueo Goth. This must have been easily observed in the many Scottish who advanced the arms of Gustavus Adolphus. Mr Coxe, in his Travels, I. 504, observes the great similarity between Swedish and broad Scottish; and mentions a Swedish traveller, who found many obsolete Swedish words common in Scotland.

In Anglo-Belgic thus :

Uren fader thic arth in Heofnas. 1. *Si gehalgud thin noma.* 2. *To cymmeth thin ryc.* 3. *Si thin willa sue is in heofnas and in eortho.* 4. *Uren hlafoferwistic sel us to daeg.* 5. *And forgefe us scylda urna, sue we forgefan scyldum urum.* 6. *And no inlead usig in custnung.* 7. *Ah gefrig usich from ifle.* Amen.

Chamberlayne, in that curious work the *Oratio Dominica omnibus fere in linguis*, and which serves more to illustrate the origin and propinquity of nations, than many huge works, gives us the following as the Lord's Prayer in the language of the Orkneys.

Favor ir i chimre. 2. *Helleur ir i nam thite.* 3. *Gilla cosdum thite cumma.* 4. *Veya thine mota vara gort o yurn, sinna gort i chimrie.* 5. *Ga vus da on da dalight brow vora.* 6. *Firgive vus sinna vora sin vee firgive sindara mutha vus.* 7. *Lyve us ye i tuntation.* 8. *Min delivera vus fro olt ilt.* Amen; or, *On sa meteth vera.*

This was originally published by Wallace, in his account of the Orkneys, London, 1700, 8vo. Bishop Percy¹ suspects that there are errors of the press, such as *helleur* for *helleut* : and I think at 7. *ye* for *ne*. Wallace says the Orcadians call the language *Norns*, or *Norse* : but it is a different dialect from the Norwegian, Icelandic, Danish, Swedish. It approaches nearer to the Icelandic than to any of the others ; but differs considerably even from the Icelandic, as the reader may observe. But whether this difference be merely the effect of change and time, to which all tongues are liable ; or, as we know that the Piks inhabited the Orkneys, when the Norwegians came in, and that the former must have been the most numerous people ; this may therefore be really the old Pikish, preserved in that remote situation, though with some corruptions ; is a question not easily determinable.

¹ Northern Antiquities, vol. I. Pref.

In the oldest Lowland Scottish recoverable, the Lord's Prayer would run thus:

Uor fader quhillk beest i Hevin. 2. Hallowit weird thyne nam. 3. Cum thyne kingrik. 4. Be dune thyne wull as is i hevin, swa po yerd. 5. Uor dailie breid gif us thilk day. 6. And forleit us uor skaths, as we forleit tham quha skath us. 7. And leed us na intil temptation.¹ Butan fre us fra evil. Amen.

In this it is attempted literally to follow the four former, as far as the language would bear. When the resemblance between all these four specimens is so great, the reader will not wonder that there is so much proximity between the old English and Scottish. The Pikish so differed from the Anglo-Belgic in Beda's time, that he marks them as distinct languages. The one retained all its German peculiarities; the other all its Scandinavian. But by collision, and at an early period, by an interchange of words, they became very similar. For we must not imagine that all the profits were on one side. The early English bards were all of the north country; and from them many words, not to be found in the Anglo-Belgic, passed into the old English. It is indeed a singularity worth remarking, that the Germans were never so remarkable for poetry as the Scandinavians. The northern Angli, and Piks, a Scandinavian people, brought poetry into first repute in England: the Normans, another Scandinavian people, did the same in France; for the claim of the insipid Troubadours has been laid asleep by M. le Grand.² But it is clear to me, as

¹ This word is the only heterogeneous one. In Francic it is *costunga*, in Ulphilas *fraistubujai*. But I know no Scottish word for *temptatio*.

² In the able prefaces to his *Fabliaux ou Contes*, 5 vols. 12mo. a work translated from the old northern poets of France, and which has past through many editions, while the works of the Troubadours, translated in like manner, have been received with the coldness their insipidity merited.

is natural to suppose, that the form of the language, and the greater number of mutual words, passed from England into Scotland.

On the subject of our Scottish poetry it is worth observing that our ballads and songs are as similar to the Danish as possible, as the reader will find on looking into the *Priscæ Cantilenæ Danicæ* of Velleius, published last century; or the *Levninger af Middel-Alderens Digtekunst*, Kiøbenhavn, 1780, 8vo. None of these Danish songs are older than the fourteenth century; and in all points they perfectly resemble our Scottish ones, tragic and comic. They who enquire into the origins of Scottish music, should study that of Iceland and Scandinavia.

Fordun tells, lib. II. c. 9. "The manners of the Scots are various as their languages; for they use two tongues, the Scottish and the Teutonic, which last is spoken by those on the sea coasts, and in the Low Countries: while the Scottish is the speech of the mountaineers, and remote islanders." He then describes the former as a civilized people: the latter as mere savages. Sir John Clerk, perhaps the best antiquary that Scotland has yet produced, though he was quite deficient in erudition, has, in a work written in 1742, but not published till 1782,² and which did not happen to be seen by me till after the materials of this Enquiry were collected, attempted to shew that the Piks were Saxons, and of course their tongue Saxon. In this he lies open to easy and di-

¹ "Mores autem Scotorum, secundum diversitatem linguarum, variantur: duabus enim utuntur linguis, Scotica, videlicet, et Teutonica; cujus linguæ gens maritimas possidet et planas regiones; linguæ vero gens Scoticæ montanas inhabitat et insulas ulteriores. Maritima quoque domestica gens est, et culta, fida, patiens, et urbana; vestitu siquidem honesta, civilis atque pacifica, circa cultum divinum devota, sed et obviandis hostium injuriis semper prona. Insulana vero sive montana, ferina gens est, &c.

² Bibliotheca Topographica Brit. *Reliquiæ Galeanæ*, p. 362.

rect confutation : for, to go no further, the Piks and Saxons are by all the ancient writers marked as quite different nations ; and we know from Beda that in his time the Pikish, and Anglic, or Saxon, were different tongues. But in other articles of that dissertation, on the Ancient Language of Great Britain, Sir John is entitled to the highest praise, as the ONLY antiquary, who has seen that infallible truth, that the Belgic Britons spoke that language afterward called Saxon, and that the Celts, even in Britain, were confined to the western parts, long before the time of Cæsar. This discovery arose to me, when collecting materials for the dissertation at the end of this work, before I began to compile those of this work itself, and two years before I saw Sir John's production ; yet Sir John has no doubt the priority of a discovery, which in the history of no other country would have been reserved for this century, and which I will venture to say is more important to English history, than any yet made, or that can be made. For it not only adds SEVEN CENTURIES to the history of Englishmen, as such, but will, if duly attended to, put the whole history of Law, Manners, Antiquities, &c. in England upon quite a new and far more interesting footing. Unhappily Sir John wanted learning sufficient to stamp full authority upon this ; and he rests upon the meaning of a few German words what depended on a display of the whole progress of the Scythians, or Goths, shewn in the dissertation annexed to this work. His ideas on the subject are of course confused and inaccurate ; and he only sees, through a mist, a vast object, which is capable of receiving the whole blaze of day. Concerning the Piks, he is totally mistaken ; and he ought to have studied more deeply, before he attempted the antiquities of his country. Sir Robert Sibbald, the earliest antiquary Scotland produced, saw this matter better, the end of last

century ; and tells us expressly, that the Piks were Goths, and that the names of their kings are all Gothic, not Celtic.* Pity that Sir Robert also had only that kind of superficial and ignorant learning, so remarkable in the works of our Scottish antiquists, who ought to read hundreds of books before they pretend to write a word ; and that he was so weak, as not to know that the name of a country is nothing, either in regard to its inhabitants, or its history. But the little word *Scot* totally perverted Sir Robert's understanding ; and made him, who was a Pik, regard his own ancestors as his enemies.

To display the origins of the old Scottish language of the Lowlands ; and the words of it which belong to the Anglo-Belgic and to the Scandinavian, and those peculiarly its own, would require a work as large as the whole of this, or much larger : and is well deserving the attention of some able hand. But this subject so little concerns my present purpose, that I shall leave it after some remarks on the name the Piks gave themselves in their own language.

The old Anglo-Belgic writers, who were the neighbours of the Piks, and had frequent intercourse with them, certainly called them by that very appellation they gave themselves, and pronounced as they pronounced it. King Alfred, in his translation of Beda, and in that of Orosius, calls them repeatedly *Peoh-tas*, *Peahtas*, *Pehtas*. The Saxon Chronicle *Pihtas*, *Pyhtas*, *Pehtas*, *Peohtas*. Ethelwerd, lib. II. 12. *Peohtæ* ; lib. IV. *Pihti*. And many other Saxon remains preserve these appellations.

Wittichind, a German Saxon writer, who lived under Otho I. about the year 950, narrates fabulously that the Britons sent to the Saxons for assistance against the Piks and Scots ; and calls the former re-

* Hist. of Fife.

peatedly *Pehiti*, which is merely a softer pronunciation of *Pehti*. Andrew Winton, a Scottish Chronicler, who wrote about 1410, calls them *Peychts*, *Pechts*, *Pihts*. The common denomination among the people of Scotland, from the Pehts Wall in Northumberland to the Pehts houses in Ross-shire, and up to the Orkneys, is *Pehts*.

The genuine name the Piks from the earliest times gave themselves, and which they bore among neighbouring nations, was therefore that of PEHTS, variously pronounced PIHTS, and PEUHTS; for *Peöhtas*, in the Scandinavian, would now sound *Peuchtas*, the ö in Icelandic having the sound of a French *u*.

This name being guttural, and somehow indefinite, and lax in the mouth, it was softened and rendered firm and distinct, by different nations in different manners. In their original seats on the Euxine, Greek and Roman writers call them PIKI and PEUKINI; being the real names PIHTS and PEUHTS, mollified and rendered more distinct. The latter name follows them into Scandinavia, as formerly shewn.

On their emerging again to Roman view in the North of Britain, they were at first called *Caledonians*,¹ from a Cumraig epithet; but when the Romans by further acquaintance had discovered the real name, the writers of a declining age unfortunately termed them PICTI; a name, which though only the real one PIHTS, softened to Roman pronunciation, yet gave rise to great confusion. For the word *Picti*, implying *painted people* in Latin, the identity of the words blended matters totally distinct, and made the real name of a nation pass for a Latin epithet, so that even their own writers were led astray; and Claudian, a poet full of quibble and conceit, says *Nec fal-*

¹ Lloyd in pref. to Archæolog. says, the Welch still call Scotland *Kelidhon*; Baxter, in his Glossary, tells that the Welch call the North Britons *Kelydhon*, and their woods *Coit Kelydhon*.

so nomine Picti. The English and Irish were alike unfortunate in their Latin appellations. *Angli* has been gravely derived from *Anguli*, “corners,” because England has many promontories. The *Hiberni*, or Irish, have been confounded with *hiberni*, “wintry people, or people in a wintry climate,” by several writers; nay, by Sir James Ware, who quotes

Hibernique Getæ, pictoque Britannia curru,

as belonging to Ireland! The *Britons* were in like manner thought to be named from the Latin *Brutus*, for ten centuries. Such was Latin etymology: and now we promise fair to have ten centuries of Celtic; and then ten centuries of Laplandic; for human folly is always the same. But to return to the *Picti*, the Romans, unhappily not catching from the pronunciation the old name *Peukini*, must have been puzzled how to modify this barbaric term: for as *Piki* implied in Latin wood-peckers, &c. a victory over these *Piki* would have sounded odd in their annals. The Cumraig Britons called them *Phichtiaid*, and the Romans could have only Latinized this name *Ficti*, which was worse and worse; for a battle with *Ficti*, *feigned* people, of *fiction*, would have been matter of laughter. From Scandinavian pronunciation, the name was *Vici*, *towns*, or *Victi*, *conquered*, or *Vecti*, *carried*, so that the confusion was endless. *Picti*, coming first to hand, took the place of all. Ammianus calls the southern Piks, by the Scandinavian pronunciation, *Vecturiones*; that is, *Vect-veriar*, or *Pikish men*, as the Icelandic writers call them in their old Norwegian seats *Vik-veriar*. But the mountain Piks, being then under a different government, and forming a separate nation from the southern Piks, the old name of *Ducaledones*, or Northern Caledonians, was still continued to the former, with whom the Cumraig Britons had no neighbourhood, nor intercourse;

while the real name of the Southern Piks became perfectly known to them from neighbourhood.

In Scandinavia, even among the Piks themselves, the sound of P vanished, and it was pronounced as V, from circumstances above explained. Hence the *Vika* and *Vikr* of Icelandic writers and Norwegian charters. The same names were also pronounced *Vicha* and *Vichr*, even in the sixteenth century, as Olaus Magnus shews; nay, Torfæus, in the beginning of this century, uses *Vika* and *Vicha*, indiscriminately. This V is in fact only the Scandinavian pronunciation of P, and prevails in the Icelandic to this very day; P being never pronounced but as V in that tongue, even in foreign words, for in Icelandic there is no P at all. Saxo, *lib IX.* speaks of the conquests of Regnar Lodbrog, in Scotia, *Petia*, and the Hebudes. This must have been taken from a poem preceding 1020, for Scotia is here palpably Ireland, the only Scotia, prior to about 1020, and *Petia* is *Petland*, or present Scotland. Saxo, a traveller, and a man of great information, knew that the inhabitants, the English and the Germans, called the country *Pehthland*, and he uses the genuine, not the Icelandic pronunciation. For about the sixth century, and from that time downward, as above explained, the Anglo-Belgic began to prevail among the southern Piks in Northumbria, and by degrees proceeded northward, so that in Alfred's time, or about 880, the real sound of the letter P would be restored among the Southern Piks at least: if indeed the Scandinavian V for P be not a late corruption. And neither in the old Scottish, nor in the present Buchan dialect, is V put for P at all. In Icelandic writers we find *Pets* and *Petlands Fiord*, for Piks and Pentland Frith; while the old Piks of Norway are called *Vikir*, and their country *Vik*. This arises from our having no Scandinavian authors at all, till the twelfth

century ; long before which time the Piks of Britain had become perfect foreigners to the Scandinavians, and their origin quite unknown to them. Hence the change of name, for one and the same people, the old name of Pikir, pronounced Vikir, continuing to the Norwegian Piks ; while the British Piks, calling themselves Pehts, the name was softened to Pets, but really pronounced Vets and Vetland. Thus, though the English proceeding from Anglen in Denmark, it might be supposed their country would be called Angleland in Icelandic writers, it is uniformly termed England ; and neither Saxo, nor any old Icelandic writer, ever hints, or seems to have known, that the English were from Anglen. Such instances of ignorance are frequent in the most enlightened times ; no wonder then that they should occur in dark periods.

CHAPTER XI.

Manners of the Piks.

THE manners of a people are either Public or Private. Under the head of Public Manners, may well be put, 1. Government, and 2. Religion, as they strictly belong to such, not only as having vast influence over the manners, but as forming an actual part of them. Other articles of Public Manners are, 3. War, 4. Navigation ; and, by a singular fate among the Gothic nations, 5. Poetry and Music.

Private Manners may be referred to, 1. Birth, Marriage, Death. 2. Eating and Drinking. 3. Houses and Dress. 4. Occupations. 5. Arts and Sciences. 6. Amusements. Under these divisions every part of Manners is included.

But in treating of the people now under view, their Manners admit not only of Two Grand Divisions, Public and Private, but of Two Descriptions. The First Description is that actually given of Pikish manners, as such, by Roman and other ancient writers. The Second Description springs from the certainty that the Piks were Goths, and that of course their Manners were the same with those of other Gothic nations, in the same state of society.

An historian of Scotland ought to enter fully into both descriptions ; for the manners of a barbaric people form by far the most interesting part of its history ; but my present purpose confines me to a few brief hints,

§ I. *Description of Pikish Manners, as given by the Roman and other ancient Writers.*

Division I. Public Manners.

I. GOVERNMENT. Tacitus, the very first writer from whom any hints concerning the manners of the Caledonians, or Piks, can be derived, shews, that in the time of Agricola's expedition, they were divided into several small states, as the Germans, and other ancient nations. As Tacitus rightly considers the Scandinavians as Germans, and expressly tells us, that the Caledonians, or Piks, were Germans, it follows that the fine description of the German governments, given by Tacitus, must be that of the Pikish states also, namely, a democracy, which chused its own chiefs, but reserved all liberty, and the most essential part of the power, to the people. Dio accordingly tells us expressly, that the Caledonian states were democratic. And Tacitus does not mention that they had one king among them, but positively implies that they had none, by calling Galgacus only the most eminent of their generals.¹ In Germany and Scandinavia, Tacitus mentions kings; but the Piks being a later settlement, had not proceeded so far in society, save in their first British seats, the Hebud Isles, where a kingdom had already been formed, which was in time to extend its power over all the Caledonians. Tacitus mentions that in Britain there were formerly kings, but that in his time there were only factions. This description belongs to the southern Britons, with whom alone, as procurator of Belgium, Tacitus had acquaintance, as is clear from the context, in which these Britons are compared with the opposite Gauls;

¹ Inter plures duces virtute et genere præstans, nomine Galgacus. *Agric.*

and from his adding that the states formed no confederacies, *ita dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur*, "so that fighting apart, all are conquered:" whereas, in the very same work, the same writer tells that the states of Caledonia, with surprising prudence, joined in a common league against Agricola.

In the Hebudes, Solinus, who wrote about 240, describes the singular state of the early Pikish monarchy, above inserted. From Adomnan we learn that the Pikish kings had a senate;¹ and that there was a *nobile genus*, or noble race,² as among the Germans: and from the Register of St Andrew's, that there was a *Regalis Prosapia*, or Royal Race: from whom it has been above shewn that the kings were chosen.

II. RELIGION. Of the religion of the Caledonians there is no hint in any Roman writer, as the country was little known or described. Adomnan is the earliest author, from whom any information on this subject can be drawn, and that information very small. It appears from him that the Piks revered fountains,³ and ascribed great virtues to them, a notion common to the ancient Goths: That they had *sui Dei*, "their own gods," whom they thought stronger than him of the Christians: That they had *Magi* or Magicians, priests who were thought to possess the power of raising storms: many adventurers of Columba, with *Broichanus*, one of these Pikish magicians, are narrated by Adomnan.

¹ Rex cum senatu valde pertimescens, domo egressus, obviam cum veneratione beato pergit viro. *Adom. Vita. Col. II. 14.* de Bru-deo loq.

² Quendam de nobili Pictorum genere II. 11. He also mentions the "familiares regis," II. 13. the *comites* of the Germans, in Cæsar and Tacitus.

³ In Pictorum Provincia . . . audiens in plebe gentili de aliquo fonte divulgari famam, quem quasi divinum stolidi homines . . . venerabantur. II. 6.

III. WAR. On this head almost the whole Roman information necessarily rests. From Tacitus we learn that the Caledonians, or Piks, used cars in battle, as the Belgæ and other Gothic nations. That the Celts ever had cars there is no proof. Adomnan describes Echuvislaid, king of the Crutheni, or Piks in Ireland, as using a car.¹ Cars continued among the Scandinavians down to the tenth or eleventh century.² In describing the battle of the Grampians, Tacitus also shews that the Caledonians had a body of cavalry. He does not specify the arms peculiar to each class; but only mentions that the Caledonian swords were very large, and without points, so as to cut, but not thrust; and their shields were small;³ matters in which they exactly correspond with the Germans, as described by the same author. The Caledonians also used archery, as all barbaric nations, and as Tacitus especially shews. The arrows were pointed with flints, now often found, and called elf-stones. In the time of Severus, Dio says, the Caledonians also used daggers, as the Saxons, and many other Goths. Herodian mentions their small shields; and adds lances to their armour. The last are also mentioned by Dio, who says their lances had an hollow ball of brass at the handle-end, which served as a kind of rattle.⁴

¹ Sed et de rege Cuithniorum, qui Echuvislaid vocitabatur, quemadmodum victus curru insidens evaserit prophetizavit similiter sanctus. MS. in Bibl. Reg. lib. I. c. 6. omitted by Canisius.

² See Dissertation annexed, p. 70. So late as 1182, cars of battle were used in Flanders. "Le Comte de Flandres y parut escorté de plusieurs chariots armés en guerre a la façon des anciens:" in battle against the French king, 1182. *Essai sur l'Hist. de Picardie*, I. 311. This was the old custom of the country, the *Belgica esseda* of Virgil, if he means not the Belgæ of Britain. Saxo. lib. VIII. p. 147, mentions the car of Harold Hyldetand, about the year 800.

³ In Roman coins, Britannia has a small round shield and long spear.

⁴ Lib. 76. Herodotus describes bands of Persians, with gold and silver pomegranates, on their javelins, lib. VII.

Gildas mentions that the Piks had a kind of hooked spears, with which they drew the Britons down from the battlements of the wall of Gallio. Such spears were used among the Scandinavians; and Bartholin gives us a print of one found in Iceland. Sidonius Apollinaris, describing the Gothic princes, says, *muniebantur lanceis uncatis*.

IV. NAVIGATION. The Piks were perpetually passing the friths of Forth and Clyde to molest the Britons. Their boats were usually of osiers, interwoven, and covered with the skins of beasts, as appears from Solinus, Gildas, and Nennius. Sidonius Apollinaris, *car.* 7, mentions such boats as used by the Saxons.¹ Maitland tells us they are still used on the river Spey, in Moray; being round at both ends, five feet long, and three broad. Such were also the boats of the old Welch and Irish. Tacitus describes navigation as at a great height among the Suiones, or Danes, of his time. But the case was different in Caledonia, an earlier and more barbaric settlement of the Goths. The Piks, however, would naturally advance in this science, though I cannot find that they ever had fleets, like their Scandinavian ancestors. In the year 1726, under several strata of earths and fossils, was found in the bank of the Carron, a large boat, 36 feet long, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ broad; made of one entire piece of oak, and well polished, both within and without. From the number of strata, Sir John Clerk thought it an antediluvian boat; but, that jest apart, these strata certainly shew it very old; and it is most probable that it was Pikish, because found in the country of the Piks.

V. POETRY and MUSIC. With regard to these the

¹ *Quin et Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus
Sperabat, cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
Ludus, et assuto glaucum mare findere limbo.*

ancients have hardly left one hint. Tacitus mentions the war-song, and military shouts of the Piks. The manners of the other Goths must here be recurred to.

Division II. Private Manners.

I. BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH. The whole accounts of private manners of the Piks are most defective. Dio tells us the Caledonians had their wives in common, and brought up their children in public. Cæsar tells us the same thing of the southern Britons, that ten or twelve had wives in common; and chiefly brothers with brothers, and parents with children; but that the children belonged to him who first wedded the mother. These are most singular and striking features of barbaric society, hitherto rather rashly denied, than illustrated by similar examples. The Germans, as Tacitus shews, had quite the contrary practice; all being content with one wife, save the rich, who had several. They were palpably in a more advanced state of society, than either the Piks or Belgæ of Britain, their brethren. Montesquieu observes it as a feature of pastoral society, that men have many wives, or wives in common, altogether as beasts; but he gives no examples. Herodotus tells us expressly, that the Agathyrsi, a Scythic nation in Germany, had their wives in common in his time. Tacitus says the Germans, *alone of all barbaric nations*, had not wives in common; a clear proof that the Celts and Sarmatians had their wives in common: and he tells us of the Peukini; that, through the promiscuous marriages of their chiefs, they were disgraced by a resemblance of the Sarmatæ. The Belgæ and Piks seem to have been in one identic state of society, as might be expected from common Gothic origin, from insular situation, and from both settling about one

and the same period. Not so barbarous as to have all wives in common, neither seem they to have been so civilized as the Germans. The custom, however, seems to have been peculiar to the great, as among the Peukini in Germany; and Solinus describes it in his time as a privilege only of the Pikish king, to chuse and dismiss any woman he pleased. This was the natural progress of the custom, for the great would certainly be the last to abandon such licence. There is indeed every reason to believe that Cæsar judged only from the chiefs in Britain, as too many travellers apply the vices of the great to whole nations. But of this custom we have spoken before. Concerning the rest of this article we know next to nothing. From Adomnan it appears that the Piks did not in Columba's time burn their common dead, but buried them.¹ People of rank may, however, have been burnt. Among the other Goths it appears to me that burning the dead was never very frequent, but always confined to the chief ranks, being laborious and expensive.²

II. EATING AND DRINKING. Of these we have almost as little direct information. Dio tells us that the Caledonians used a certain root which supported them long, without their suffering hunger; and the same is told of the Scythians.³ Solinus says that the Piks of the Hebudes lived on fish and milk; but hunting seems to have afforded a chief food of the Piks of Caledonia. In the old forts, bones of deer have been often dug up. From Adomnan we learn

¹ In Pictorum provincia . . . alios ex accolis aspicit misellum humanantes homunculum. II. 12.

² So Tacitus expressly, "Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur ut corpora CLARORUM virorum certis lignis crementur." Germ.

³ Dio, lib. 76. And see Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXV. 8. for the use of the herbs *scytice* and *hippace*, among the Scythæ.

that the Piks used glasses for drinking, as he describes Broichan the magician using one. Ale, the drink of all the Goths, was certainly that of the Piks.

III. HOUSES AND DRESS. From Tacitus it is clear that the Caledonian houses, of whatever materials formed, had combustible roofs; for he describes them as all smoking around, being set on fire by the Caledonians in their retreat. The walls were probably of turf, or wood. Adomnan describes that of the Píkish king, Brudi, to have been a *munitio*, or castle.* But it was surely of wood; and no ruins of such edifices can remain at the present time. The Caledonians, like the Germans, were almost naked. Roman writers sometimes mention them as naked; and if we saw a savage, with only a deer's skin thrown over his shoulders, and the rest of his body bare, we would, like these writers, call him naked. For it appears from Cæsar that the Belgæ, and from Tacitus that the Germans, wore a skin of some beast. No doubt the Romans saw the Piks in their most naked state, for they only visited them in the summer, the season of war. And the chiefs, as in Germany, apparently wore a tunic and breeches, under their mantle. Gildas, c. 15, mentions the Piks as partly clothed, or at least girt with a cloth about the middle. This was in the fifth century. In the sixth, when Columba lived, Adomnan drops no hint of dress or nakedness; but it is inferable that they were clothed. The custom the ancient Piks had of staining their bodies has been formerly shewn to be peculiar to the Gothic nations. The Belgæ also retained the same custom, till the Romans introduced luxury and dress among

* Alio in tempore, hoc est in prima Sancti fatigatione itineris ad regem Brudeum, casu contigit ut idem Rex fastu elatus regio, suæ munitionis, superbe agens, in primo beati adventu viri non aperiret portas. II. 14.

them. But the Piks of Northumbria had its remains down to the eighth century, as appears from a decree of the council of Calcot, in 787, above adduced. This staining was done like the *tattooing* of American savages by pricking the skin with a thorn, or other sharp substance, and then rubbing in the juice of a plant.¹ From Cæsar we learn that the plant used among the Belgæ was the *vitrum*, or woad; which made them of a blue colour. Pliny tells that this plant was in Gaul, called *glastum*, and that the British matrons in particular used it. Cæsar's *vitrum* is palpably a translation of this Gallic word *glastum*, or glass; and the word must have originated with the Belgæ, being Gothic, and given to amber by the German Goths, as we learn from the same Pliny. This tattooing, as a terrible ornament, the Piks did, like the Americans, in various figures. So Claudian;

Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.

De Bello Getico.

Besides this tattooing, the savages of North America often paint their faces red, or some other colour. This they vary as occasion demands; one colour denoting mourning, another joy, &c. But whether this custom was known to the Piks or not, cannot be now determined. The savages of North America, though the cold be certainly, at least, equal to any ever felt anciently in North Britain, go mostly quite naked; though some wrap a skin about them in winter, as the Piks no doubt also used. Herodotus tells us of the Neuri, a Scythic nation, who were in winter turned into wolves: Pelloutier ingeniously explains this, that in winter they clothed themselves in the skins of wolves.

¹ ——— viridem distinguit glarea muscum,
Nota Caledoniis talis pictura Britannis. *Auson. in Mosella.*

IV. OCCUPATIONS. The chief occupation of a savage is to procure food and dress : the chief occupation of civilized society is the same, to procure money to buy food and luxuries. As Solinus tells that the Hebudian Piks lived on fish and milk, fishing and pasturage must have been their main occupations. The other Piks added hunting : and in time agriculture.

V. ARTS AND SCIENCES. The houses of the Piks were certainly only built with wood, or wattles, and mud ; as among the Gauls, and the Germans. But from the ancient writers who mention the Piks, we can only learn that they could make weapons of war ; which were certainly of brass, as were those of all other early nations ; and war chariots, in which brass was no doubt used in those parts now made of iron. Of the Sciences of the Piks we find no vestige ; and while in South Britain one or two learned men arose, we have every reason to believe that the Piks did not even know the use of letters, and that their churchmen, and men of letters, were all Irish and Welch, down to the twelfth century. This proceeded from the supreme contempt, which the barbaric Goths, as a wise people, had for that jumble of fanaticism and fiction, called learning in the dark ages.

VI. AMUSEMENTS. Of these, as might be expected, we find no account in those ancient authors, who mention the Piks.

§ II. *Description of Pikish Manners, as being those common to other Gothic Nations.*

This theme is very extensive, and can therefore be here only slightly sketched.

Division II. Public Manners.

I. GOVERNMENT. It is now universally known that the government of the early Goths was generally a Democratic Monarchy. Herodotus describes the early Scythians as having kings: and from Tacitus we learn, that the Germans had them. But these kings were merely as Indian chiefs; men, who from superior merit, had acquired influence, and which influence remained to their descendants and relations, from a natural veneration of the people for the superiority which had established it, and a hope of finding it continued in the same progeny. The example of Iceland may satisfy us, that the barbaric Goths were not incapable even of a regular republic, established upon wise laws. But in this republic riches had such natural influence, that if a man became very rich, the laws, passed in the General Assembly, in which even all the peasants appeared, were not held ratified, if such a man were absent. Some man of this description, adding great talents, art, and courage to his wealth, would have in time come to be king. For in such society riches and power are the same; and nobility always originates in wealth. But how does wealth originate in such society? Certainly by chance. For a man of the greatest talents, or courage, may make many inroads or expeditions without success: while another, by one lucky hit, may acquire vast riches: and a man without capacity may find a treasure, or be sole heir of many relations. This Republic of Iceland highly merits the attention of the learned, as we have all its Laws, Constitution, and History, in far higher perfection than those of Greece and Rome. It presents a picture of the progress of barbaric society prior to the year 1000, when it became Christian, and letters

were introduced. A progress of nine centuries, uninfluenced by foreign manners, had taken place between the state of the Germans, given by Tacitus, and that of Iceland. But it must be remembered that Tacitus tells, the Suiones, or Danes, had wealth; and were from situation more advanced in society than the Germans, even in his time. They obeyed a king with greater, and a more fixed power: but there is no room to think the royalty was hereditary, else Tacitus would not have omitted so strange a peculiarity, while all the Germans elected their monarchs, as he tells, from the nobility of their race. From a perfect similarity of situation the Pikish monarchy originated in the Hebudes; while Caledonia was divided into democratic states. Cæsar instructs us, that the Gallic states were mostly democratic; and that the few kings were chiefly usurpers. Tacitus mentions no pure democracies in Germany; and the Gauls were, from Grecian and Roman intercourse, more advanced in society than the Germans. Like the Greeks they had past from petty kingdoms, known at the siege of Troy, to republics; while the Germans were still in their heroic age. The Piks, during the Roman period of our history, as may be inferred from their remote situation, resembling that of the Germans, had also the German government. Tacitus mentions no kings in Caledonia. Dio, a suspicious authority, names one Argentocoxus, and tells a pretty tale about him. It is indeed mere matter of curiosity to enquire whether the Caledonian states had their petty kings, or not. Such kings were mere chiefs, or first magistrates; and with no power over the people, save what the people pleased to allow. It has been agitated, whether monarchy or democracy be the most ancient form of government; but the fact is, that the most ancient monarchies were really democracies. We are certain from Tacitus and Dio,

that the Caledonian states were democratic; and if writers would candidly examine the subject, they would see that in early society monarchy itself is always democratic. In the Hebudes alone, as among their fellow islanders, the Suiones, a remarkable and real monarchy was established, which in time spread over Caledonia. The coincidence of both these monarchies being in a cluster of isles is curious. *Divide et impera* was here done by nature.

II. RELIGION. The religion of the ancient Goths has been lately explained by so many writers, that I need not enter so vast a field. Suffice it to observe, that the mythology of a barbaric people must be full of confusion, while even that of the Greeks and Romans is so. Odin is at present the God best known to us, as he is most celebrated by the Scandinavian scalds: but Tuisco was in the time of Tacitus the chief god of the Germans; and Irmensul was, in the days of Charlemagne, he of the Saxons. In the Scandinavian mythology, the chief confusion rises from this, that Thor, beyond doubt the Jupiter, or chief god, is sometimes called father of Odin, sometimes son of Odin. The Eddas of Sæmund, and of Snorro, also palpably imply two Odins; and the Scandinavian antiquaries assert an elder, and a later. If I may humbly offer an opinion, after so many men of real and profound learning, a similarity of names seems in traditional times so liable to errors of this sort, to have confounded *Odin*, the god of war, with *Godin*, a name for the Supreme Being; whence our word God, and originating from *god*, good. For it is clear from the Eddas, that the Scandinavians, as many of the Greeks and Romans, admitted a Grand Creator and Preserver, to whom these gods were but as servants. When they became Christians, they naturally retained this name for that Great Being. This theory might be supported by arguments very valid,

but this is not the place. And I shall close this argument, with only admonishing the reader to beware of that grand error of the Scandinavian antiquaries, so unerring in other matters, namely, their supposing Odin and his Asæ to be real persons, who led their people from Asia, 70 years before Christ; whereas they belong wholly to mythology, and not in the least to history. Snorro Sturlason, a writer of the *thirteenth* century, is the grand source of this delusion; by mentioning in his Edda¹ that Odin fled from Pompey: and the veneration paid to Snorro maintains this puerile fable, though it be a mere romantic fiction, similar to that of Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, the British Brutus, &c. Snorro could only find this tale in a Saga, written by some ignorant romancer, who had heard of Pompey the Great, and so brought him in as he would have done Alexander the Great, Judas Maccabæus, King Arthur, or Charlemagne. For where else could Snorro find this, save by *special revelation*? It is shewn in the Dissertation annexed, that the progress of the Scythians, or Goths, into Scandinavia, was completed, at least 500 years before Christ. Nor did they even come out of it again, save into Britain, Denmark, Russia, Iceland, and Normandy. And it is demonstrable from all the ancient writers, from Herodotus down to Cæsar, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, that this pretended expedition of Odin is a mere fable, founded on the allegory that Odin, the God of War, led the Goths into Scandinavia, that is, they opened their path by the sword.

III. WAR. The peculiar warlike spirit of the Caledonians, or Piks, unknown to the other Britons, marks them as Goths, and as Scandinavian Goths, the most warlike of men. Northern climates produce iron

¹ Apud Torf. Ser. Reg. Dan. In his history Snorro dates Odin in the time of the Roman emperors.

men. The mountains of Scandinavia, and of Scotland, were the natural soil of such a race.

An iron race the mountain-cliffs maintain,
Foes to the gentler genius of the plain.
What wonder if, to patient valour train'd,
They guard with spirit what by strength they gain'd?
And while their rocky ramparts round they see,
The rough abode of want and liberty,
(As lawless force from confidence will grow)
Insult the plenty of the vales below?

GRAY.

This admirable description applies so well to the Piks in particular, that one would imagine it drawn from their invincible spirit, and constant incursions into the southern plains. If our Highlanders be in fact, as some assert, more warlike than their Irish ancestors, their mountainous situation must be one chief cause, as the great mixture of Goths among them is another. But had the Romans found Celts in Caledonia, they would have totally vanquished them at once, with a single legion, as they did Celtic Gaul; and, as Tacitus says, they could have done Ireland. The conquest of the Celts, south of Forth and Clyde, was so easy that Tacitus gives no hint of it, but passes it as a thing of course: and in another place says, that Agricola discovered the Celtic tribes in Galloway, and went and planted castles among them. But when the Caledonians appear in Roman history, it is to open a new scene; and to give a sample of such people as were to overturn the Roman empire, a specimen of the Ostro-Goths, and the Westro-Goths on the Euxine, and of the Northern Germans. Would that, for the sake of civilization, the Piks had been subdued! Yet their defiance, for three hundred years, to all the power of Rome, is certainly a striking spectacle in history. That their country was not subject to Rome, is no compliment to it; but that the Romans so repeatedly attempted the conquest, and not

only failed, but were forced to build many ramparts and walls in their own defence, gives us a surprising idea of the warlike spirit of these northern Goths, to whom, as their southern brethren said, "the gods themselves were not equal."

When we see the state of war among the northern Goths in particular, this mystery vanishes. Utter contempt of death, joined with vast strength of body and mind, necessarily insured to them defence and conquest. But why enter upon so trite a theme, as the spirit or manner of Gothic war? Why describe the hall of Odin, and the eternal luxuries of those slain in battle? Why paint the martial terrors, thundering around a people who compared the delights of a conflict to those of love, and who died laughing?

IV. NAVIGATION. As we meet with no distant maritime expeditions of the Piks, it is needless to enlarge on this head. It has already been shewn that the Scandinavian ancestors and brethren of the Piks were so skilful in navigation as to have regular fleets in the time of Tacitus.

V. POETRY AND MUSIC. The Gothic Poetry forms one of the most singular features in the history of human manners. Its familiar and constant use is so remote from modern ideas, nay from the practice of any barbaric nation, ancient or modern, that it seems to us almost incredible. Yet nothing is more certain than that to be taught the composition of verse, and the use of arms, formed the whole Gothic education. Verse was in such familiar use among the Goths, that it was common to accost a stranger in verse, who at

¹ Cæsar, IV. 7.—The weapons and battles of the Gothic nations, are perfectly known. Their ensigns were at first heads of boars, wolves, bulls, and other beasts. But Arrian, in *Tactic*, describes the Scythic ensigns of his time as dragons made of cloth, and hissing in the wind. The Scottish banner, 1138, was a dragon. Dalrymple's *Annals*, p. 79, from Aldred de Bello Standardi.

once answered in the same.¹ The Scalds were only men more distinguished for this talent; and who, from superiority in it, were led especially to practise it. But, even to understand their verses, it was requisite to have studied poetry much; for their metaphors are so violent and remote, and the construction so entirely changed, that a poem was required to be committed to memory, and often revolved, before it could be thoroughly understood.² As a specimen of the figures, gold is called the dragon's bed, the tears of Freya; poetry, the present, or the drink, of Odin; a combat, the bath of blood; the hail of Odin, the shock of bucklers; the sea, the field of pirates; a ship, the horse of the waves, &c. &c. &c. Hardly any idea was exprest in simple and direct terms. Hence the obscurity is prodigious: and to explain one ode of Edda of Sæmund, Eric Hallsen, an Icelandic poet of last century, employed ten years, and was forced, after all, to give it up in despair.³ This, to be sure, is an unique instance, as that ode is the most obscure remain of northern antiquity. Nor does this darkness arise from the metaphors only, but from the construction, which is so perverted, that the most perverted part of a Greek or Roman poet seems plain English to it.

Hence it required superior understanding and skill to develope this poetry. But it may naturally be concluded, that the more ancient the Gothic poetry is, it will be the more simple. The Death Song of Ragnar Lodbrog, who was king of Denmark about 820, is an ancient remain of Scandinavian poetry; and, though not so perplexed as many later pieces, it has nevertheless very remote figures, as a battle is called the ocean of wounds. In short, simplicity seems to

¹ Sagas, and Northern Writers, *passim*.

² Gunlaug's Saga.

³ Edda Sæmundi, Hafniæ 1787, 4to, tom. 1.

have been shunned as a matter of ease; and the more art, labour, and such scaldic science as then prevailed, that were employed, so much higher was the praise. Thus we see that even barbaric society is capable of false taste, and false refinement, in poetry. The Goths were too ingenious; and sacrificed the delicious poetry of the heart to that refined art, and remote sense, which only employ the head; and employ the head in vain, for nothing can be more foolish, than for a man to use much time and labour to wrap a thought in obscurity, only in order that another may use much time and labour to develope it; while the former, by speaking plain at once, might have saved the whole toil, and have attained far superior praise. This unhappy taste for ænigmas pervades much of the Gothic poetry, and only serves now to excite our wonder at seeing extreme ingenuity, and false refinement, in barbaric society. In other barbaric poetry, perfect simplicity is sure to be found; but in the Gothic the case totally differs; and the very study of the ancient Scandinavian poetry, is to this day a peculiar and real science by itself; requiring as much, nay more, skill in its mythology; kinds of verse, which amount to at least three times the number ever known to the Greeks, or Romans; metaphors, phraseology, &c. than is necessary to the perfect knowledge of the Greek and Roman poetry. A phænomenon altogether astonishing; and which sets all theory of human manners at defiance! The Celtic poetry is quite different; having no mythology at all, and only such few metaphors and perversions, as are found in all rude poetry, as in the Laplandic and Indian Heroic and Amatory Ballads.

The Gothic poems were all short, as common sense dictates must be the case in all traditional poetry.

The story of Homer's poetry being preserved by tradition, for three centuries, is quite fabulous ; for he wrote about four hundred years after letters were used, both in Greece and Asia. The Death Song of Regnar Lodbrog is among the longest pieces of Gothic poetry supposed to be traditionally preserved ; and it extends to about twenty-nine octave stanzas, of short lines. Ossian, and *Epic Poems*, preserved by tradition, are ideas which could not have occurred but to a Celtic understanding. The longest kind of poem, known to the Goths, was that called the *Drapa*,¹ which to relieve the memory had always a burden : and it was a very long Drapa which had thirty octave stanzas, of these very short lines, so usual, and so disagreeable in Gothic poetry, consisting of but three, four, or five syllables each. A piece of this sort, would not of course contain more words than sixty, or eighty lines of Homer. The *Floker* was a shorter kind, without burden. The *Mals*, *Lioths*, and *Quidas*, of the Edda of Sæmund, the earliest repository of Scandinavian poetry, being collected about the year 1110, never exceed fifty short stanzas, of very short lines : and it is suspected by some Scandinavian antiquaries, that a few of them are of his own composure. Rhyme is unknown to the early northern poetry ; and seems never to have been used till after the Scandinavians were Christians, in the eleventh century, and began to imitate the rhyming Latin verses of the monks, the real inventors of rhyme.

The Celtic poetry, as that of a weak and dispirited people might be expected to be, is almost wholly melancholic in a supreme degree. All the mock Ossian is full of misery and death. The Gothic poetry is the exact reverse of this, being replete with that warm

¹ See an account of the Drapa, in Gunlaug's Saga, p. 1. 15, 113. Of the Floker, ib. 113.

alacrity of mind, cheerful courage, and quick wisdom, which attend superior talents. It was a custom of the Gothic warriors, to sing their own death song. So did Regnar Lodbrog; so did also king Bodvar; and many others, noted in northern story. We have a most remarkable corresponding instance in Procopius, who wrote about the year 560. He attended Belisarius in his expedition against Gilimer, king of the Vandals, in Africa, 533; and tells us, that Gilimer being defeated, and blocked up in the mountain Pappua, he composed a song on his own misfortunes, which he sung to the harp. Soon after he was forced to yield himself; and Procopius informs us, that he laughed much, when he came before Belisarius, for that purpose: though the step was to him worse than death, had he not apparently hoped that he might thereby intercede for his people.

The Pikish poetry, no doubt, consisted, like that of the other Goths, altogether in ballads, or songs upon the subjects of mythology, history, genealogy, moral advices, panegyrics of heroes, and love. In particular, Heroic Ballads, and Love Ballads, are the earliest poetry of all nations. The Laplanders celebrate old chiefs, as well as their mistresses; but we have no specimen of the former, though the Spectator has made the latter well known. Even in the confined circle of the Farroe Isles, the Gothic inhabitants have their songs on celebrated champions.¹ And that this custom was most ancient among the German Goths appears from Tacitus, who tells us of the great Arminius, *caniturque adhuc apud barbaras gentes*, "he is yet sung by the barbarous nations." Eginhart tells us, that Charlemagne "wrote and committed to memory the barbarous and most an-

¹ Debes's account of the Farroe Isles, p. 273. Torfæus de rebus gestis Fœrræensium, *passim*.

cient songs, in which the acts and wars of former kings were celebrated." Asser tells us the same of Alfred. Jornandes says, the funeral of Theodoric, the Gothic king, was *cantibus honoratum*, "honoured with songs." Of historic and genealogic songs I have treated above. Of moral songs we have fine examples in the *Haavamal*, and other pieces of Sæmund's Edda. Love ditties form another species of early poetry, known, like the Heroic, to all barbaric nations. Some of the old Scandinavian, I am informed, are exquisitely tender; and though few have been published, yet good examples appear in the Sagas. Take these translations of two stanzas.*

"Virgin of the beautiful face, learn my verse s.
you remember them, they will deceive your languid
hours, when your lover is distant; and the youth of
your heart will appear in your memory."

"We stood together upon the green grass, when
the damsel with beauteous locks, and sweet counte-
nance, embracing me with her arms, weeped bitter-
ly; and, with linen whiter than snow, wiped the
thick-falling tears from her radiant eyes."

The Scandinavians had also ludicrous and satiric poetry; of which good specimens may be found in the Edda of Sæmund, as the *Ægis-drecka*, or Feast of Æger, at which Lok appears, and tells all the gods and goddesses present their faults; and other pieces similar.

Of Gothic or Scandinavian Music we know little. In battle the horn was chiefly used, as in Scotland, down to the fourteenth century. The harp was a Gothic instrument, first invented in Asia, and passing with the Goths to the extremities of Europe, and into the Celtic countries. The ancient Irish harp was small like the Gothic. The bagpipe, so

* From Gunlaug's Sag.

foolishly thought a peculiar old Highland instrument, was used by the Greeks and Romans, as we know from many marbles, coins, &c. and Roman authors. From Procopius we learn, that in the sixth century it was the instrument of war among the Roman infantry, as the trumpet was among the horse.¹ Hence there is little doubt began its warlike use in Britain and in other countries subject to the Romans.

Division II. Private Manners.

I. BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH. Among the Goths, children were dipped in a stream, or lake, soon after the birth; and a name was given them. This was considered as an holy office, for all waters were held sacred. Exposition of children was cruelly allowed, as among the early Greeks and Romans. If the father desired that the child should be preserved, he took it in his arms, or put it on his knee. Exposition, though always very rare, continued lawful in Scandinavia till 1024.² Men of eminent science often educated children gratis, from infancy to manhood.

In marriage I cannot discover a shadow of any sacred ceremony among the Goths.³ The bridegroom

¹ Lib. II. c. 22, he describes the bagpipe as εκ θυρεσης τε, και ξυλου υπεραγαν λεπτου, "made of leather, and thin wood." Nero used to perform on the bagpipe, and there is a coin of his with that instrument on the reverse: See Sueton. in Nerone, c. 14, and Vossii Lexicon Etym. in voce *Utricularius*; where he observes that Varro calls it Pythaula; and above all Blanchini de tribus generibus musicæ veterum organicæ, Romæ, 1742, 4to. The bagpipe is still familiar among the Greek and Italian shepherds. In Scotland and Ireland it seems quite modern, for Giraldus Cambrensis, though so full on the music of these countries, does not mention it. See his *Top. Hib.*

² See a long and curious memoir *De expositione infantum* at the end of Gunlaug's Saga.

³ Judge Blackstone observes in his Commentaries, vol. I. that marriage was totally a civil contract, till Pope Innocent III. about the year 1210, ordained its celebration in the church.

presented a present to the damsel's father, or guardian; which has been strangely interpreted by superficial theorists, as if he bought his bride. It was a mere token of respect, usual on this occasion among the Greeks and Romans; and Tacitus tells us, that the German Goths gave and took presents upon many occasions. Women were held in such adoration among the Goths, that to have bought a wife would have ruined the richest of them. The bride also gave a present to the husband. The parties and friends being met, the father solemnly delivered the bride to the bridegroom, with a form of words. After which the marriage feast, the chief part of the ceremony, followed.

Bodies of common people, and of enemies, were buried; those of chiefs burnt, if opportunity served; if not, they were buried. When burnt, the ashes were put in earthen urns, as among the Greeks and Romans; and a barrow of earth, in proportion to the rank, was thrown up. That of a beloved king was sometimes like a little hill.

II. EATING AND DRINKING. Pork was a favourite food of the Scandinavians; and boars' flesh the main article of Odin's Feast. In Iceland, when first planted, herds of swine, and of sheep, are often mentioned.¹ Horse flesh was used in Scandinavia and Iceland till the eleventh century, when it was forbid by the Christian missionaries. A curious relic of the old Scythian manners described by Herodotus! The chief drink of the Goths was ale. Wine and meed were occasionally used. They drank out of horns, as the ancient Thracians and other Scythians. I have seen a Scandinavian drinking-horn, carved, painted, and

¹ Islands Landnama. The Christianity of the dark ages induced an horror for swine's flesh, as the gospel represents the devils entering into the swine.

adorned with silver ; with a whistle made of bone at the small end, in order to call servants. Cæsar describes such horns as used by the Germans.

III. HOUSES AND DRESS. The houses of the common people in all the countries of Europe, were at first wooden ; and continued so till within these two centuries. Among the Goths, the houses of the kings, and great men, were also of wood : consisting of many apartments on a floor, surrounded with a wooden palisade, forming within a *curtis*, or court. The women's apartment was separated from the rest, and often fortified with another ditch, and palisade, to prevent their being carried off in these barbarous times.¹ The eating room, or hall, was the chief part of the house. At an entertainment, the guests sat on large benches, on either side the hall, and in the midst of each bench was an high chair, or seat of honour, for the chief persons, with one opposite for the next in rank.² The floor was sprinkled with straw, a custom continued in the royal palaces in England, till the sixteenth century. The fire was in the middle of the hall ; and all along its wall were boxed beds, yet much used in Scottish villages. The guests sat just before their beds, so as they could step into them with ease. A vast vessel of ale was placed on the floor, whence to fill the horns.

The dress of the early Goths consisted only in a skin thrown over the shoulders. But the chiefs even then wore a close jacket and trousers. The last habit in time became common to the people. In the column of Trajan, the Daci are so represented ; and such was the early Icelandic habit. Breeches were the peculiar habit of the Goths, and unknown to the

¹ See Cleffel. Ant. Germ. and the Northern Antiquaries, for an account of the *skenmur*, or women's apartments.

² Curious prints and descriptions of old Icelandic houses may be found in Gunlaug's Saga.

Celts, from the beginning to this day. Gallia Braccatta, or Breeched Gaul, was infallibly inhabited by Gothic-German Gauls, as its position might also shew. The mantle was also a part of dress among the chiefs. The ancient German women wore only a close shift of linen, often striped with purple. It had no sleeves; and a part of the neck was left bare. In the Icelandic poetry, *clothed in linen* is a frequent epithet for the women. But in the earliest times the linen shift was a dress of rank; and the other women roamed naked, like dryades, among the German woods, glittering in the natural splendour of a snow-white skin, rosy cheeks, and a prodigious length of golden hair. For the hair of the Gothic women was often so plenteous, as when they combed it to cover them all around, and reach the ground as they sat. In winter, a skin of some beast was thrown over their shoulders, and fastened before with a thorn, or other rude pin. As the skin was of no use without such pin, the antiquists may hence derive the necessity and origin of pin-money. In time the women also adorned themselves with glass beads, which they procured from foreign merchants, as the Indians do now. Such beads of most colours are found in urns in Germany; with hair-pins, and hair-rings, to fasten on the ringlets with the pins, as an ornament. Such articles distinguish a woman's urn; as brass razors do a man's: for we learn from the ancients, that the German men shaved their beards, and only wore mustachios.

IV. OCCUPATIONS. It is well known that the early Gothic occupations were hunting, fishing, and pasturage: and in time agriculture. From Tacitus it appears, that German Goths had orchards. But war was the grand occupation of the Goths.

V. ARTS AND SCIENCES. Herodotus, and other ancients, pronounce the Scythians the wisest of man-

kind : and wisdom is the parent of true art and science. They had philosophers, and were skilled in astronomy. Tacitus describes the German houses as built of rude materials, without mortar or tyles. He mentions not the materials ; but another ancient¹ tells us, they were of wood. But Tacitus adds, that some of them were done over with an earth, so pure and splendid, that it resembled painting. This custom continued a long time ; and the earth used was called *rothe erde*, red earth, and *Englische erde*, because they brought it from Britain.² The only genuine specimens of the early Gothic architecture, are the Piks houses, singular exertions of barbaric art. The old Scandinavians were remarkable for carving, with a knife, little figures of wood, or bone, and such have been found in Scotland ; particularly a little image of a king, on a throne, dug up near Dunstafnage, and probably a Norwegian work, done when these people were possessed of the Hebud Isles, and part of the western coast. On the Gothic arts and sciences, much might be said ; but it is the greatness of the subject which forces me not to enter on it here.

VI. AMUSEMENTS. Gaming was the favourite amusement of the Gothic nations, and known among them in the earliest times, and in all their most barbaric professions. Tacitus describes the Germans as passionately addicted to gaming. In Iceland, chess was general ; and in the eleventh century we find Gunlaug the scald playing at chess with the beautiful Helga, whose love so excited him and Rafen, another scald, that they fought, and fell by mutual wounds.³ Conversation was another chief amusement ; and was employed principally in narrating

¹ Herodian VII. 5.

² Cleffel. Ant. Germ. p. 168.

³ See that beautiful northern love-tale, Gunlaug's Saga.

the acts of great men, in proposing and solving ænigmas, and in trials of poetic skill. But news were a perfect feast of the rude Goths. In Iceland, when a foreign ship arrived it was a privilege of the chief men to hear the earliest news; and the vulgar were not allowed to approach till they were satiated. Their counsels were often guided by such intelligence as chance supplied. An exact picture of the Gothic Gauls, as described by Cæsar. The polite Athenians were also remarkable for this love of news. But I have already exceeded the bounds proposed in the sketch of early Gothic manners, whereby to illustrate those of the Piks, and must begin another chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

Pikish Antiquities.

It is much to be lamented that accuracy and penetration are so rare in works written upon antiquarian subjects. In every country, if the most unfortunate books were to be named, it is believed that the antiquarian class would be immediately named. One would imagine that, in such subjects, quite a different mode of reasoning is allowed, than is employed in treating any other branch of science. Instead of facts, we find mere imagination : instead of argument, only groundless conjecture, supported by such incoherent and inconclusive sophistry, as must argue a deranged understanding, if exerted on any other literary department.

Perhaps it may be said, that the very subject of antiquities can only admit of opinion, and conjecture ; and never of real science : that we want grounds for certain knowledge : that of course the mind, having no fixt barriers, roams at pleasure in the wilds of conjecture, without any path to conduct it to the temple of truth.

But it must be answered, that the study of antiquities stands exactly on the same ground with that of history. It is impossible indeed to write the ancient history of a country, without being an antiquary. Nay an historian must be an antiquary, if he ventures on the history of any country, two centuries before his own time ; else he will err most grievously, in narrating facts, founded on customs, and language,

different from those of his own times. The study of history is thus so intimately connected with that of antiquities, that it becomes almost the same. But especially no man can treat of the antiquities of a country, without knowledge of its history. The origin of any law, or custom, the occasion and nature of any monument of antiquity, can never be displayed, without knowing what nations held the country, and what events happened in it. The foundations of antiquarian science, therefore, rest solely on the ground of history.

Now in history, it is believed, none can deny that there are fixt principles, whereby to distinguish truth from falsehood, and opinion from science. In ancient history, the accounts of ancient authors form the sole ground; and leave no room for opinion or conjecture. We must abide by their testimonies; and, when they differ among themselves, abide by the most ancient, or best informed.

But ancient monuments generally escape the notice of ancient histories; and we learn nothing from Herodotus, or Ctesias, that can particularly illustrate the ruins of Persepolis. We only know in general that they must be remains, either of the Assyrian empire, a part of which existed in the Babylonic, after the Median held the north of present Persia, or of the Persian. And as Persian coins and gems present us with the same dresses, and symbols, as are found on these ruins, it must follow that they belong to the Persian empire, which began so late as 570 years before Christ.

To apply this example to the present subject, it is certain from ancient authors, and from present evidence, that the Celts first possessed Britain and Ireland, till the Scythians, or Goths, came in and vanquished them. No trace of any other nations than the Celts, and the Goths, can be found in these is-

lands, either from the testimony of ancient writers, or from that infallible evidence, the language. The civilized Romans, and their monuments, are here out of the question ; as their remains are perfectly marked, and known. The only question, therefore, among antiquaries, is, whether to impute our barbaric monuments to the Celts, or to the Goths?

It is well known that Stonehenge, as it is one of the finest barbaric monuments in the world, has afforded the greatest room for antiquarian contestation. Inigo Jones, when he wrote a work to shew it Roman, only gave a lamentable proof of that truth, too much experienced in all countries, that antiquities, like law, medicine, moral philosophy, natural philosophy, form a peculiar and distinct branch of science, only attainable by laborious study, and experience in the subject ; and that he who ventures on them, without any claim to the character of an antiquary, must err, however great his talents may be in other respects. Indeed, it may safely be said that good antiquaries are still more rare than even good historians : and any great library will afford convincing proofs of the assertion. Dr Charleton, who imputed Stonehenge to the Danes, because many monuments of that kind are found in Denmark, came very near the mark ; but reflected not that the Danes were so late a people in England, that its erection could hardly escape historic notice. Such monuments are also common in Germany, so that it might as plausibly have been given to the Saxons. At last, the Celts and Druids becoming fashionable in this century, Dr Stukeley assigned Stonehenge to the Druids.

From this instance, and innumerable others, it is perfectly known, that the only debate, concerning the rude monuments in Britain and Ireland, is whether they are Celtic, or Gothic. There being indeed

no end of conjecture, some French writers have lately dreamed of a primitive people, as they call them, to whom such monuments belong. It suffices to say, that there is not a trace to be found of this primitive people, but in imagination, all history being quite mute : and it is a certain rule, *de non apparentibus, et non existentibus, eadem est ratio*. Not to mention that those writers, so skilled in the ideal part of antiquities, always shew gross ignorance of the real. Their reasoning is also truly antiquarian, and inconsistent. From a similarity of barbaric monuments, from Japan to Britain, they reason that they are all remains of one people : totally forgetting the similarity of mental, and manual, powers through the whole extent of human nature. Nay the very similarity they find is chiefly imaginary ; and no greater than between an English steeple and a Chinese pagoda. A writer,¹ who deserves to be mentioned with respect, but who is capable at times of dealing in all the nonsense of genius, as a late work² of his deplorably proves, has lately started an idea of a people now lost, to whom all nations are indebted for their arts and sciences. This people he places in Tartary, because he found that the oldest astronomical observations indicated their being made in that clime. Following M. de Buffon's system, that the earth is a piece of the sun, struck off by a comet, and must have cooled first, and been first inhabited at the poles, he concludes this people to have come from the north pole, down to Tartary. In Britain, immediately ir-

¹ M. Bailly Lettres a M. Voltaire sur l'origine des Arts, &c.

² Lettres sur l'Atlantide ; a work built on an Egyptian fable told by Plato, in utter forgetfulness that the Egyptians were noted for falsehood. Did M. Bailly believe the Egyptian story, that the sun had risen in the west, and reverted twice to the east, in the memory of their annals ? Which was the west, and which the east, when the Atlantic affair happened ?

radiated with the light of Newton, M. de Buffon's system has appeared, and will ever appear, a fanciful *reverie*, unworthy of confutation, as it has no grounds whatever, either to reason on, or be reasoned against. M. Bailly's argument from old astronomical observations is curious; but may be answered, by granting the opinion of many ancient and modern philosophers, that this globe has suffered a change in its position. A comet may change the posture of the earth, far more easily than it could dash off all our planetary system from the sun. If you grant one conjecture, why not grant another to confute it? But perhaps it is too much to allow M. Bailly's idea of the ancient astronomical observations solid, for the greatest astronomers have used these observations before, without any such discovery. And it may be that these observations are forged by the Greek authors, who preserve them; Greece being in the same climate with Tartary, though not with Babylon and Arabia, generally reputed the very parent countries of astronomy, till M. Bailly controverted their claim. As to M. Bailly's argument, that the north of Asia was once a warm climate, because elephants' bones are found there, he must allow his conjecture to be answered by another, that there was a breed of elephants in remote ages, peculiar to a cold, as the present is to a warm climate; just as Arabia, a hot climate, produces a peculiar and beautiful breed of asses.¹ Of conjectures there is no end; and he who deals in them must expect to be confuted by them. His idea, that the riches found in Tartaric tombs belong to this primitive people in Tartary, only shews his total ignorance of antiquities; for it is perfectly known, that they are, for the most part, Persian spoils, won by Genghis Chan, and Timur, in their

¹ Niebuhr Descript. d'Arabie.

expeditions, as appears from their fabric : and that the fragments, really Tartaric, are of no older date than the first of these conquerors, who first brought wealth into Tartary. In short, his idea of a primitive people in Siberia and Tartary, from whom the arts sprung, is not only opposite to all ancient history, but is confutable from the certain fact, that no ruins, coins, nor reliques of any kind, used by a civilized people, can be found in these countries, but what are of very late date : and it is not to be supposed that this civilized people, from whom arts and sciences sprung, would be strangers to those arts which mark the residence of civilized nations. But of this too much.

For my part, who never venture further than history will carry me, I have nothing to do with the primitive world, nor with any primitive nation ; but shall leave literary Quixotes to conquer such islands on dry land for their Sanchos. From ancient Greek and Roman writers, it is perfectly known that the west of Europe was anciently inhabited by two grand races of men, the Scythians and the Celts : the latter being indigenes, the former an Asiatic people. When Cæsar entered Britain, and first disclosed it to historic authority, he found the indigenes, or Celts, confined to the interior, or distant parts of the island ; while the Belgæ, a German progeny, as he informs us, had all the maritime parts. The Celts were, as he says, strangers to agriculture, and lived by hunting and their flocks ; while the Belgæ were an agricultural people. Britain again remained unvisited by the Romans for a century longer, when Claudius began the conquest.¹ During that century, the Belgæ had been always gaining ground, as civilized colonies do among savages. In Ptolemy's time, it is

¹ See the authorities produced, Part II. c. 1.

clear that the Belgæ had all the south and east of present England. In the north the Piks were a Gothic people, as the Belgæ in the south : but the Piks had expelled a Celtic people from the north, as the Belgæ had from the south.

Thus history so far illustrates the barbaric monuments in Britain, as to make it certain, that they must be either Celtic or Gothic. The first and grand enquiry therefore, among antiquaries, ought to have been, whether they are Celtic or Gothic ; or which are Celtic, and which Gothic ? But most unhappily they have taken them all for Celtic, while the truth is quite on the other side. It is indeed the peculiar defect of antiquaries to take, as sure foundations, those very points which are entirely false and delusory. Thus Pelloutier, Mallet, and others, regard the Celts and Goths as all one people : and, without using a single authority or argument upon the subject, assume, as granted, a gross error ; building vast edifices upon a morass, without once examining the foundation, though that foundation ought to have been their principal care. In like manner none of our antiquaries has ever examined, if our barbaric remains be really Celtic, or Gothic : but they have taken it for granted that they are Celtic, nay, that they are Druidic, as they facetiously call them, without ever using a single argument or authority on the subject. This error is indeed chiefly owing to their gross ignorance of the ancient history of their country, which leads them to regard the whole inhabitants of Britain and Ireland as Celts, till the Saxons entered England : whereas all Britain and Ireland were conquered, and in a great measure possessed, by the Goths, two centuries before the birth of Christ, as shewn, or to be shewn, in these volumes. Indeed the French antiquaries, though infinitely superior to ours in all other respects, have to this hour shewn

little knowledge of the conquest of Gaul, and population of one third of it, by the Belgæ, a Gothic people; but whom they regard as being themselves Celts. In all science error has first appeared, by the natural propensity of the human mind to falsehood; but not without beneficial effects, for truth is never firm till erected upon the ruins of error. Malebranche preceded Locke; and Descartes, Newton. May history keep pace with other sciences in England; and be erected upon the ruins of foreign error!

Another radical cause of this error is, that antiquaries regard the Druids, and their rites, as universal among the western nations in Germany, Scandinavia, Gaul, Britain, Ireland. Here they again take for granted a foundation, not only to be proved, but impossible to be proved, and utterly false. Cæsar tells us expressly of the Germans, *neque Druides habent*, "they have no Druids:" Tacitus, in his long and valuable account of Germany, says not one word of Druids: nor is there *one* authority in all antiquity for Druids being at all known, except in Gaul and Britain. Even in these two countries they were only known among the Celts of the west. For Cæsar tells us, the Belgæ of Gaul were Germans of quite different speech, laws, and manners, from the Celts; and, as Germans, it follows from this express testimony, that they had no Druids. The Belgæ of Britain are exactly in the same predicament. When the Romans attacked Anglesey, they found Druids; but there is not one authority for their existence among the British Belgæ, nay direct authorities, as above seen, against it. The Caledonians, Tacitus calls Germans; and Beda, with other proofs above given, evince them Scandinavians; and it is of course impossible that they could have Druids. In Ireland there is not a shadow of an authority for the very name of Druid being known; and antiquaries might, with equal reason, give us

Bonzes and Dervises in Ireland. Cæsar tells us, that Druidism was invented in Britain, and passed to Gaul; and there is reason to conclude, that it was originally taught by the Phœnicians to the people of Cornwall, where they traded for tin, as its deities and mythology are clearly Phœnician. The god Belinus or Baal, the mystic egg, &c. are mere transcripts of Phœnician theology; and, if we had much light on the Druidic system, there is room to infer that the resemblance would be complete: but all we have from the ancients concerning the Druids would not fill a page. As to the dreams of French and British antiquists on the subject, they are only fit for laughter; and *Druidic* is beginning to be a term for the most nonsensical nonentity of antiquism. The customs of all nations and languages are huddled together, to make out a mass of Druidism; while there is no authority at all for Druids being known beyond present North Wales on the north, and the river Garonne, the bound of the Celtæ in Gaul, on the south. A line drawn by the Severn in Britain, and Seine in Gaul, forms the eastern bound, while the ocean forms the western. Pliny tells us, that Tiberius abolished the Druidic religion, which he could not have done, had it spread so wide as we dream. But in Nero's time there were Druids found in Mona, or Anglesey, by Suetonius Paullinus; which would seem to have been their last refuge: and Paullinus destroyed their groves^{*} to root up a superstition so detestable to good government, from the power of its priests above kings, and to civilized manners, from its human sacrifices. But as superstitions are not easily eradicated, some individuals continued their veneration of

^{*} Præsidium posthac impositum victis, excisique luci sævis superstitionibus sacri; nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fbris consulere deos, fas habebant. Tacit. Annal. xiv.

Druidism to a late period. It is also remarkable, that after that event only female Druids are mentioned.¹

That our old barbaric monuments are Celtic or Druidic, not one authority or argument has been used to prove. That they are not Celtic, but Gothic, may be shewn from the following authorities and arguments.

1. They are found all over Germany and Scandinavia, nay in Iceland,² where it is certain no Celts nor Druids existed. As it is perfectly known that the Gothic inhabitants of Britain came from Germany and Scandinavia, while no Celts nor Druids ever went there, the inference is direct and obvious.

2. The Celts from all ancient accounts, and from present knowledge, were, and are, a race, incapable of labour, or even rude arts. They were indigenes of Europe; as are the Fins; and no stone monuments can be traced among the Fins. The Goths, on the contrary, were only a barbaric race, with barbaric arts from the beginning; and originated from Asia, where the rude, as well as the cultivated, arts first began.

3. The most remarkable barbaric monuments in Europe are those circles of erect stones, which antiquists of this century call Druid temples. Nothing

¹ So the British Druidess foretold the fate of Diocletian. Aurelian consulted *Gallicanas Druidas*, Vopis. in Aur. *Silvano sacr. et nymphis loci, Arete Druid Antistita, somno monita*, D. Inscr. apud Grutet. p. 58, n. 9, found near Metz, where this Druidess perhaps attended a Gallic cohort in the wars against Germany; if the stone was not carried thither by chance, either in ancient or modern times.

The latest mention of Druids is by Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xv. but he speaks of them as past, *viguere*, &c. as does Ausonius to Patera.

Tu Baiocassis stirpe Druidarum satus,
Beleni sacratum ducis e templo genus.

This place was in Celtic Gaul. See Edit. Var.

² Worm. Mon. Dan. Keysler, Coxe's Travels, &c. &c. &c.

can be more certain from all the ancients, who mention the Druids, than that they had no temples, but worshipped in groves. Had these been Druid temples, the Romans, when they abolished Druidism, would have destroyed them in the very first place; whereas many remain in the south of Britain, as well as in the north. Tacitus, who especially mentions the destruction of the Druidic groves, could not have avoided mentioning that of the temples, had any such existed.

4. In no Celtic author is there any mention of such edifices or their use. Nennius thought Stonehenge a work of Merlin's magic. But Scandinavian writers specially mark the use of these circular monuments, namely, to hold parliaments and courts of justice; which, as all know, were among the Goths always held in open air, to a late period. In Iceland, which retained its pagan customs long, a native of Iceland, Mr Thorkelin, professor of history at Copenhagen, informs me the very date of erecting some of these circular monuments is known. And the use of them is retained in the old annals and laws of the country: as well as their names still in the popular mouth, namely, *ting*, or court. Islands Landnama, a work of the thirteenth century, says, *Oc thar hia er sa domhringr er their dæmdu menn til blota. Thar setti Thordr Geller fiordungs thing, med radi allra fiordungsmanna;*¹ "A judicial circle stands there, where men were doomed for sacrifice. There Thorder Geller erected a court for one quarter, by the consent of all that quarter's men." Adam of Bremen says, the Danes called a council of the nation *Warph* or *Thing*.² These courts occur of all sizes,

¹ P. 94. Havniæ, 1774, 4to. In the same work, p. 257, is mention of rock idols worshipped by one Fyvind; and it affords innumerable other lights on Gothic antiquities.

² So *Upsalating*, *Lanasting*, *Allting*, *Almenting*, &c. Loccen. Ant. Sueo Goth. p. 73, 74.

from the national council down to the court of the district. Twelve stone swere often set for the twelve judges to sit under, in chief courts of justice. But national councils had larger space, and more stones; and courts for a district, from their confined jurisdiction, had fewer judges, and stones. A rope drawn around the stones impannelled the court, and kept off the crowd. Greek and Roman writers afford us no light concerning these monuments, which is indeed surprising, especially in Tacitus, who mentions the courts of the Germans held in open air. But the vastness of the Roman works made them look upon monuments, which strike us with surprise, as beneath notice. The Icelandic writers are indeed late: but the argument hinges upon this, that they mark the use of these monuments, as familiar to their people; whereas not one Celtic writer gives any hint concerning their use. The argument is therefore clear and fair, that these monuments are Gothic, not Celtic. And these four arguments must be allowed convincing, when it is reflected that not *one* authority, or argument, can be used on the other side.

A respectable writer,¹ but whose work betrays crude and inaccurate reading, and want of judgment, in eternally blending authors of the first and sixteenth centuries, that is, authorities with no authorities; and mingling the whole with a mass of tradition, etymology, and vague conjecture; has indicated the following as Druidic monuments. 1. Single stones erect. 2. Rock idols, and pierced stones. 3. Rocking stones, as ordeals. 4. Sepulchres of two, three, or more stones. 5. Circular temples. 6. Barrows or tumuli. 7. Cromlechs, or heaps of stones. 8. Rock basins for Druids expiations. 9. Caves for retreat in war.

¹ Borlase's Cornwall.

Most of these sorts are found in Scandinavia and Germany, as every one who has glanced at the works of Wormius and Keysler, not to mention many other German and Scandinavian antiquaries, must perfectly know. Divisions, 2. *Rock idols, and pierced stones*; 3. *Rocking stones*: 8. *Rock basons*, I must confess, do not seem, as far as I recollect, to have been remarked in Scandinavia and Germany. Indeed antiquaries of these countries, being little addicted to visions, seem to have consigned these articles to the naturalists, as there is great room to infer them of the *lusus naturæ*. Natural history now informs us, that gravel and sand are often comminuted rock; and, in the course of this comminution, the hardest parts of the rocks remain entire; and may, in some instances, form odd shapes. These odd shapes are rock idols in some cases: in others one hard part of rock is left suspended on another, as if by human art, whence some rocking stones; though others may be real monuments of battles, &c. as are the single stones. But for their being ordeals, there is no proof; but puerile conjecture. As to stones pierced, either horizontally, or excavated on the top into apparent basons, both cases proceed from local softness in the rock, as the former two from local hardness. But as the whole scheme of Borlase rests upon his confounding the Gothic with the Celtic nations; and his opinion upon this subject has been confuted by a writer of real and solid learning;^{*} it is unnecessary to attack parts of a work, which stands altogether on a false foundation. That rocking stones were sepulchral among the early Greeks may appear from a passage of Apollonius Rhodius, hitherto, so far as I remember, not produced on this subject.

^{*} Dr Percy, pref. to Northern Antiquities.

Τηνω εν αμφιρυτη πεφνευ, και αμησατο γαιαν
 Αμφ' αυτοις ; στηλας τε δυω καθυπερθεν ετευξεν,
 Ων ετερηθαμβος, περισσιον ανδρασι λευσειν,
 Κινυται ηχηεντος υπο πνοιη βορεαο.¹

“He slew them in sea-rounded Tenos, and raised a hillock about them ; and placed two stones on the top : of which one (the admiration of men) moves to the sonorous breath of the northern wind.”

But it may be said, if these monuments be Gothic, how came they to be found in the west of England, and in Ireland, peculiar seats of the Celts, though the east and north of Britain were in the hands of the Goths two centuries before Christ? Be it answered, that the Belgæ had not only peopled the east of England, but also the south of Ireland : and, as we know from Strabo,² that they not only held all the east of Gaul, but had colonies in the furthest west, such may be presumed to have been the case with Britain and Ireland.³ The people of Wales and Cornwall must in the course of four centuries, that the Romans held South Britain, have been mixed with Romans and Belgæ. Not to mention that many of these monuments may be Danish ; for the Danes, in the ninth century, conquered Ireland, as universally known. And from Borlase himself, p. 42, 43, 372, it is clear that the Danes, in 787, settled in Cornwall, and that the Cornwallians remained under their protection till 938, when conquered by Athelstan, who first brought them under the Saxon yoke.

¹ Argon I. M. d'Hancarville says, rocking stones are found from Japan to Britain. Apollonius also mentions a cromlech, or altar of loose stones, *lib.* II.

² *Lib.* IV. The Veneti were Belgæ.

³ Menapia in Wales was doubtless found by the Menapii of Ireland, and of Belgic Gaul. Cæsar speaks as if all the *maritime* part of Britain was possessed by the Belgæ. If so, they held all the *shores* ; but he can only be trusted as to the part he visited.

Yet Borlase never thinks of assigning these monuments to the Pagan Danes ! In Wales the Danes had also frequent alliance, intercourse, abode. But it is most probable that in Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, most of these remains are really Belgic.

The erection of such vast stones, and the placing of one upon another, occasions great surprise. A work upon Barbaric Arts would be curious and interesting. In Peru the erection of regular edifices, with stones of equal size, is certainly matter of more wonder.* It has lately been shewn that all our difficulties, concerning the barbaric monuments in Europe, may be done away by a simple process. Whole armies and tribes were employed in erecting such monuments ; and what could not be done by art was effected by the numbers employed. Large mounds of earth were thrown up, with a gentle declivity, along which the stone was forced with wedges of wood, and the strength of successive parties. When got to the top, it was forced over an aperture, at the further and precipitous end of the mound. Another stone, if required, could be placed on its top, by the same method. For circles successive mounds were made, and removed ; and patience and numbers compensated the want of machines and of art.

But let us pass more immediately to our present subject. The antiquities of the Piks, the Gothic inhabitants of Scotland, may be reduced to these classes.

I. Single Stones erect ; being 1. Sepulchral. 2. Memorial. 3. Boundaries.

II. Barrows, or Sepulchral Hillocks.

III. Temples, and Places of Judgment.

IV. Castles.

V. Caves.

* Voyage of Ulloa.

VI. Entrenchments.

I. SINGLE STONES. Plain erect stones are common in Scotland, as in most other countries.

II. BARROWS. There is no authority, and no reason to believe, that the Celts ever used to raise hillocks over their illustrious dead. The plain cromlech, or little heap of stones, was more consonant to their indolence; and it is well known, that they used it till a late period. Barrows are certainly Gothic, as they were ancient Scythian. Many such have lately been opened in England, with laudable curiosity. Sometimes urns are found, sometimes small stone coffins, in which the bones were put; sometimes entire skeletons; so that it is inferable that burning, or burial, was used as opportunity served, or as superstition dictated. Among the Romans, burning the dead ceased in the third century. Among the Goths it continued to be occasionally used till their conversion to Christianity. There is no room to believe that the Celts ever burned their dead at all. In Scandinavia sepulchral mounts are frequent. They are sometimes surrounded with stones at the bottom, and have sometimes a stone on the top. The tombs of the old Swedish kings near Upsal are all conic mounts: as others in the Isle Biorkoo.

Mr Pennant, vol. III. p. 155, describes a singular Cairn in the parish of Fettercairn, of vast size, which he considers as sepulchral, an opinion which his description renders dubious. But a large barrow near Inverness was also discovered to be a pile of stones and sand, covered with sod. This was a Scandinavian mode, as may be seen in Dahlberg's *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, plate 323.

III. TEMPLES, AND PLACES OF JUDGMENT. It is singular that no ancient writer mentions those circles of vast stones, which strike us with so much surprise. Had they been Druidic temples, surely, in

the ancient accounts we have of the Druids, their using such remarkable temples would not have been omitted. But the ancients mark groves as the only Druidic temples. These circles are therefore, in every appearance, chiefly Courts of Justice. They are Gothic; and are found in Scandinavia, and in Iceland: in the last country a place of this kind is called *Dom-thing*, implying a Court of Judgment.¹ In the middle is a stone for the judge to sacrifice, who in the Pagan times was always a priest; as among the Greeks, priest and king, or chief magistrate, were generally united in one person. Hence these places were in fact regarded as both temples and courts of justice: and it was no unusual thing in Pagan Iceland for a human victim to be sacrificed, before proceeding to hear causes, and administer justice. There is reason to conclude that Stonehenge, and other such monuments of enormous stones, were used for the same purpose. The magnificence of Stonehenge, and such fabrics, may arise from their being Supreme Courts, in which the king sat, and rude parliaments were held; the chiefs being within, the people without the circle. For all courts were anciently held in the open air; and the rude parliaments especially, in which, as Tacitus expressly tells, the whole people had a vote. The stones across the top of two others were apparently conveniences for the chiefs to get up, and speak to the people, who, as Tacitus describes, dissented by murmurs, or applauded by clashing their shields. Stonehenge may have been the Supreme Court of the Belgic Britons. For the Belgæ, properly by superiority so called, are by Ptolemy and Richard placed in that very tract: and Sorbiodunum, their capital, was Old Sarum, as all agree. That Stonehenge, and such monuments,

¹ Also *Domhring*, "circulus judicialis." Isl. Landn. p. 94.

might easily be erected by a simple process of raising mounts has been lately shewn; so that there is no occasion to have recourse to giants, beings of imagination. This opinion that Stonehenge was really a barbaric parliament house, being, it is believed, new,¹ it is, after the various opinions of so many great men concerning this wonderful monument, most humbly submitted to the reader's candour. The noble circle at Classernis in Lewis² may also be of this kind; an ancient Gothic court, in which great affairs were decided: the avenue, &c. being mere pieces of rude magnificence, as the double circle is at Stonehenge, and others.

We are not, however, to imagine that every small circle of stones is a court of justice. Some such were family burying places: others, temples erected to several small deities. Some large ones were solemn to the election of the king, or chief; and such have commonly twelve stones in a circle, and a large one in the middle, upon which the king was placed and crowned, or acclaimed.³ But all kinds are Gothic, and abound in Scandinavia. It is no wonder indeed that, while our writers take for granted that all Britain was possessed by Celts, they should regard these monuments as Celtic. This is only a lamentable proof, among many, that they have begun at the wrong end; and pretended to illustrate antiquities, without knowledge of history, that is, they have attempted to see without light.

¹ I since find the same opinion expressed by M. Brotier, in his Tacitus, where at the words of the Germania, *considunt armati*, he refers to Mallet for the courts in Scandinavia; and mentions Stonehenge, and the *Champ de Mars, et de Mai*, and *Etats Generaux* among the Franks.

² See Martin's Western Isles.

³ Wormius Mon. Dan. That some were burying places appears from Olaus Magnus, lib. I. *saxa, ordine sphaerico, familiarium designantia sepulturas*: and see Dahlberg Suecia Ant. et Hod. vol. III.

Justice was also administered upon conspicuous hills of easy access, whence the *Lares*, *Moot-hills*, in Latin *Montes Placitorum*, noted in our ancient history and modern topography, as Traprane Law, Dunpender Law, Moot-hill of Scone, and many others.

IV. CASTLES. The Pikish castles, as appears from some remains, consisted of round ramparts of earth with ditches.¹ In later times, the edifices called Piks Houses appear, which will be described at a subsequent period.

V. CAVES. Subterraneous retreats in war are common to most early nations. Tacitus² tells us they were used by the Germans. In Picardy there is a most remarkable vast excavation, in the form of a St Andrew's cross; of which a print and description are published.³ In the Hebud Isles, and other parts of Scotland, artificial caves are found.⁴ Those of Hawthornden, near Edinburgh, are remarkable, being cut out of a freestone rock, in several apartments. Some think them Pikish: but they may be suspected Roman, as a similar work in Cumberland seems to be.⁵

VI. ENTRENCHMENTS. There is no proof that the ancient Gauls, Germans, or Scandinavians, ever fortified their camps as the Romans. Cæsar seems to mention as singular, and a first instance, that the Gauls fortified their camp. The Gauls preceded the Germans, Britons, and Scandinavians, near three centuries, in every art, as is clear from Cæsar's whole work. That great man tells us, that when the British Belgæ raised a rampart of felled trees, they called

¹ Gordon's Itin. Sept.

² In Germania.

³ Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscip.

⁴ Martin's Western Isles. Cordiner's Ant. & sc. for those in Ross-shire.

⁵ Pennant's Scotland, II. 69, 70.

it a town. Oval and round entrenchments are found in Scotland; and are generally termed Danish and Pikish camps. The Danes used to fortify tops of hills in their invasions, though they remained but for a short time, as the Saxon Chronicle observes. Cater-thun, and other artificial entrenchments in Scotland, of an oval and round form, seem Pikish works, on the model of the Roman entrenchments, round their military stations; but not square, as the Roman always are.

APPENDIX

THE FIRST VOLUME.

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TO

VOLUME FIRST.

No. I. *Ptolemy's Geography of North Britain, collated with the Palatine MS. and with the Latin Editions, 1462 and 1490.*

BEGINS at the north (really the west), going east (north) stops at Orcas Prom.—Then begins the west side, going south, from Mull of Galloway to Cape of Cornwall.—Thence along the south to Kent.—Then the east, beginning at the north, Orcas Prom. going south to Kent.—In this circuit he only marks the rivers and promontories.

He then proceeds to the names of the nations, beginning at Galloway, on the north-west extremity, as he supposes. He then goes east (north), and enumerates progressively west, north, and east, the nations in North Britain, till he comes down to the Brigantes in Yorkshire. After which, going south, he enumerates the nations in South Britain, till he ends in Cornwall.

He concludes with mentioning the islands on the north and south of Britain. Those on the west he gives at the close of his account of Ireland, in the preceding chapter.

Αρκτικής πλευρας περιγραφή, ἣς ὑπερκειται Ωκεανος καλουμενος
Δουηκαληδονιος (*Pal. habet λλ*).

Νουαντων (*Pal. Νοουαντων*) χερσονησος, και ὁμωνυμον ακρον
κα : -ξα : γο¹

¹ The Greeks divide the degree only into twelve parts of the *As*, or whole. An explanation of these fractions of the degree may be found in the Preface of Bertius.

Ρέριγονιος κολπος	κ	: L ¹ - ξ : Lγ
Ουιδοταρα (Pal. Ουιδογαρα) κολπος	κα	: γ - ξ : L
Κλωτα εισχυσις	κβ	: δ : νθ : γο
Λελααννονιος (Pal. Λεμααννονιος) κολπος	κδ	: - ξ : γο ²
Επιδιον ακρον	κγ	: - ξ : γο
Λογγου ποτ. εκβολαι	κδ	: - ξ : γο
Ιτυος ποτ. εκβολαι	κζ	: - ξ :
Ουολσας κολπος	κθ	: - ξ : L
Ναυαιου ποτ. εκβ. (Pal. Ναβαιου)	λ	: - ξ : L
Ταρουιδουμ ή και Ορκας ακρα (Pal. Τα- ρουεδουμ)	λα	: γ - ξ : δ
Δυσμικης πλευρας περιγραφη, ή παρακειται ο τε Ιουβερνιος Ωκεανος και ο Ουιεργιουιος, μετα την Νουαντων χερσονησον ή επεχει	κα	: - ξα : γο
Αυραουαννου (Pal. Αβρανανου) ποτ. εκβολαι	ιβ	: γ - ξα :
Ιηνα εισχυσις	ιβ	: - ξ : L
Δηουα ποτ. εκβολαι	ιη	: - ξ :
Νοουιου ποτ. εκβολαι	ιη	: γ - νθ : L
Ιτουνα εισχυσις	ιη	: L - νη : Lδ

(Cætera hujus lateris, et MERIDIONALIS ad Angliam pertinent.)

Των εφεξης προς έω και μισημβριαν πλευρων περιγραφη αϊς
παρακειται Γερμανικος Ωκεανος.

Μετα το Ταρουεδουμ ακρον η Ορκας όπερ ειρηται.

Ουιερουεδρον ³ ακρον	λα	: - ξ :
Βερουβιουμ ακρον (Pal. Ουερουβιουμ)	λ	: L - νθ : γο
Ιλα ποτ. εκβολαι	λ	: - νθ : γο
Οχθη ύψηλη	κθ	: - νθ : γο
Λοξα ποτ. εκβολαι	κη	: L - νθ : γο
Ουαρα εισχυσις	κζ	: L - νθ : γο
Τουαι εισχυσις (Pal. Ταουαις) ⁴	κζ	: - νθ :
Κελνιου ποτ. εκβολαι (Pal. ut semper εκβολη)	κζ	: - νη : Lδ
Ταιζαλον ακρον	κζ	: L - νη : L

¹ This mark stands for half a degree.

² Sic: sed Latinæ edit. melius hic tantum ξ. et Ιτυος ποτ. ξ : γο.
Et sic ed. prim. Gr. 1533.

³ Ουιερουεδρουμ. Ead.

⁴ Τουαισις.

Διουα ποτ. εκβ. κδ : L - νη : L
 Ταουα εισχυσις κε : - νη : L
 Τιννα ποτ. εκβολαι κδ : L - νη : Lδ
 Βοδερια εισχ. κβ : L - νη : Lδ
 (Cætera Angliæ sunt.)

Οικουσι δε τα μεν παρα την αρκτικήν πλευραν ὑπο μεν τὴν
 ὁμωνυμον χερσονησον ΝΟΥΑΝΤΑΙ. Παρ οἷς εἰσι και πολεις
 αἱ δε.

Λουκοπιβια ιθ : — ξ : γ
 Ρέτιγονιον κ : 5 - ξ : γο

Ὑφ οὗς ΣΕΛΓΟΤΑΙ παρ οἷς πολ. (Pal. addit. αἶδε.)

Καρβαντοριγον ιθ : — νθ : γ
 Ουξελον ιη : L - νθ : γ
 Κορδα κ : — νθ : γο
 Τριμοντιου ιθ : — νθ : —

Τουτων δε προς ανατολας ΔΑΜΝΙΟΙ μεν αρκτικωτεροι, εν οἷς
 πολεις (P. addit αἶδε).

Κολανια κ : L - νθ : 5
 Ουανδουαρα κα : γο - ξ : —
 Κορια κα : L - νθ : γ
 Αλαυνα κβ : Lδ - νθ : γ
 Λινδον κ : — νθ : L¹
 Ουικτορια κγ : L - νθ : —

ΓΑΔΗΝΟΙ δε αρκτικωτεροι.

ΩΤΑΔΗΝΟΙ δε μεσημβρινωτεροι, εν οἷς πολεις (P. addit αἶδε.)

Κουρια (P. Κορια) κ : 5 - νθ : —
 Βρεμενιον (P. Αρεμενιον) κα : — νη : Lδ

¹ Solummodo, x. Ed. Gr. 1533.

Μετα δε τους Δαμνονιους προς ανατολας αρκτικωτεροι μεν, απο
του Επιδιου ακρου ως προς ανατολας ΕΠΙΔΙΟΙ.

Μεθ' ους ΚΣΡΟΝΕΣ. (P. inf. ειτα ανατολ. ΚΡΕΟΝΕΣ.)

Ειτα ΚΑΡΝΟΝΑΚΑΙ.

Ειτα ΚΑΡΗΝΟΙ.

Και ανατολικωτεροι και τελευταιοι ΚΟΡΝΑΒΤΟΙ.

Απο δε του Λαιλαμνονιου κολπου μεχρι της Ουαραρ εισχυσεως
ΚΑΛΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ.

Και υπερ αυτους ο Καληδονιος δρυμος.

Ων ανατολικωτεροι δε ΚΑΝΤΑΙ.

Μεθ' ους ΛΟΓΟΙ συναπτοντες τοις ΚΟΡΝΑΤΙΟΙΣ.

Και υπερ τους Λογους ΜΕΡΤΑΙ.

Υπερ δε τους Καληδονιους ΟΥΑΚΟΜΑΓΟΙ παρ οις πολεις.

Βανατια κδ : — νθ : Ι

Ταμεια κε : — νθ : γ

Πτερωτον γρατοπεδον κζ : δ - νθ : γ

Τουεσις κς : Ιδ - νθ : ς

Υπο δε τουτους δυσμικωτεροι μεν ΟΥΕΝΙΚΟΝΤΕΣ, εν οις πολεις.

Ορρεα. κδ : — νη : Ιδ

Ανατολικωτεροι δε ΤΕΞΑΛΟΙ.

Και πολις Δηρουα κς : δ - νθ : Ιδ

(Tunc redit ad Brigantes, et Angliam.)

ΝΗΣΟΙ δε παρακεινται τη Αλούιωνος κατα μεν την Ορκαδα
ακραν.

Οκητις νησος λβ : γο - ξ : Ιδ

Δουμνα νησε: λ : — ξα :

Υπερ ην ΟΡΚΑΔΕΣ, περι τριακοντα τον αριθμον ων το μεταξυ

επεχει μοιρας λ : — ξα : γο

Και ετι υπερ αυτας η ΘΟΥΛΗ ης τα μεν

δυσμικωτατα επεχει μοιρας κθ : — ξγ :

Τα δε ανατολικωτατα λα : γο - ξγ : —

Τα δε αρκτικωτατα λ : γ - ξγ : δ

Τα δε νοτιωτατα λ : γ - ξβ : γο

Τα δε μεταξυ λ : γ - ξγ : —

INSULÆ OCCIDENTALES *ex lib. II. c. 2. de Hibernia.*

Ἰπερκεῖνται δὲ νησοὶ τῆς Ιουερνίας, αἵτε καλουμέναι ΕΒΟΥ-
ΔΑΙ, ἐ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ὧν ἡ μὲν δυτικωτέρα καλεῖται Εἰσούδα

ιε' : — ξβ' : —

Ἡ δὲ ἐξῆς αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀνατολάς ὁμοίως

Εἰσούδα ιε' : γο - ξβ' : —

Εἰτα Ρίπιννα ιζ' : — ξβ' : —

Εἰτα Μαλεός ιζ' : L - ξβ' : —

Εἰτα Επιδίον ιη' : L - ξβ' : —

TRANSLATION.

*** *The Greek MSS. differ much; and the Editio Princeps, Basil. 1533, is not published from a good MS. In collating with the Palatine, Sylburgius has forgotten the degrees. The Latin Translation is generally preferable to the Greek text, being taken from better MSS.*

SEPTENTRIONALIS LATERIS descriptio, quod alluit Oceanus qui vocatur Deuceledonius.*

Novantum Chersonesus, et ejusdem nominis promontorium	21 — 61 40
Rerigonius Sinus	20 30 60 45
Vidotara (<i>Pal.</i> Vidogara) Sinus ¹	21 20 60 30
Clota ² æstuarium	22 15 59 40
Lelaannonius Sinus (<i>Pal.</i> Lemaannonius ³)	24 — 60 —
Epidium prom.	23 — 60 40
Longi fluvii ostium	24 30 60 40
Ityis fluvii ostium	27 — 60 40
Volsas Sinus	29 — 60 30
Nabæi fluvii ostium	30 — 60 30

* In collating with the Latin editions, 1. denotes that of 1462; and 2. that of 1490.

¹ Vindogara, 1.

² Clatais, 1.

³ Lemanonius, 1.

Tarvidum,¹ quod et Orcas Promontorium (*Pal.*
Tarvedum)

31 20 60 15

OCCIDENTALIS LATERIS descriptio, quod Iber-
nicus ac Vergioius alluit Oceanus. Post No-
vantum Chersonesum quæ habet

21 — 61 40

Auravanni (*P. Abranani*²) fluvii ostium

19 20 61 —

Iena³ æstuarium

19 — 60 30

Devæ⁴ fluvii ostium

18 — 60 —

Novii fluvii ostium

18 20 59 30

Ituna æstuarium⁵

18 30 58 45

[*The remainder of this, and the south side, belong to Eng-
land.*]

ORIENTALIS deinde, ac AUSTRALIS, PLAGÆ LATERA, quæ
Germanico alluuntur Oceano, describuntur sic.

Post Tarvedum, quod et Orcas Promontorium, jam dictum.

Virvedrum promontorium

31⁶ — 60 —

Veruvium prom.

30 30⁷ 59 40

Ila fluv. ostia

30 — 59 40

Ripa alta

29⁸ — 59 40

Loxæ fluvii ostium⁹

28¹⁰ 30 59 40

Vara æstuarium

27 30 59 40

Tuæsis æstuarium

27 — 59 —

Celnii fluvii ostium

27 — 58 45

Taizalum prom.

27¹¹ 30 58 30

Divæ fluvii ostium

26 — 58 30

Tava æstuarium

25¹² — 58 30

Tinæ¹³ fluvii ostium

24 30 58 45

Boderia¹⁴ æstuarium

22 30 58 45

[*The rest belong to England.*]

¹ Tarvedi 24 — }
² Orcas 31-60 } 1

² Abravani, 1. 2.

³ Ieæ, 2.

⁴ Dubæ, 2.

⁵ Itucæ, æstus, 2.

⁶ 30, — 59¹, (1.)

⁷ 31¹, (2.)

⁸ 29, (1. 2.)

⁹ Palatinus Varum æstuarium præponit ostio Loxæ amnis, et sic ed. 1.

¹⁰ 27, (1.)

¹¹ 28 — 58¹, (1.)

¹² 27, (1.)

¹³ Tiva, 2.

¹⁴ Bogderiais, 1. Bogderia, 2.

Juxta Septentrionale latus, sub Chersoneso eodem appellati nomine, **NOVANTÆ** habitant apud quos urbes hæ:

Lucopibia	.	.	.	.	.	19	—	60	20
Retigonium	.	.	.	.	.	20	10	60	40

Sub eis **SELGOVÆ**, apud quos urbes hæ:

Carbantorigum	.	.	.	.	.	19	—	59	20
Uxelum	.	.	.	.	.	18	30	59	20
Corda	.	.	.	.	.	20	—	59	40
Trimontium	.	.	.	.	.	19	—	59	—

His versus solis ortum, magis septentrionales, **DAMNII** sunt, in quibus urbes hæ:

Colania ²	.	.	.	.	.	20	30	59	10
Vanduara ³	.	.	.	.	.	21	40	60	—
Coria	.	.	.	.	.	21	30	59	20
Alauna	.	.	.	.	.	22	45	59	20 ⁴
Lindum	.	.	.	.	.	23	—	59	30
Victoria	.	.	.	.	.	23	30	59	—

GADENI vero magis Septentrionales.

OTADENI autem magis australes sunt, in quibus urbes hæ:

Curia	.	.	.	.	.	20	10	59	—
Bremenium ⁶	.	.	.	.	.	21	—	58	45

Post Damnonios, versus solis ortum magis Septentrionales, quasi ad ortum vergentes ab Epidio prom. **EPIDII** sunt.

Post quos **CERONES**: inde Orientaliores **CREONES**.

Deinde **CARNONACÆ**.⁷

Deinde **CARENI**.⁸

Et Orientaliores, ultimique, **CORNABII**.⁹

A Lælamnonio autem sinu usque ad æstuarium Varar sunt **CALEDONII**.

Et supra eos **CALEDONIA SYLVA**.

Quibus magis Orientales sunt **CANTÆ**.

Post quos **LOGI** ¹⁰ contigui Cornabiis.

Et supra Logos ¹⁰ **MERTÆ** sunt.

¹ 26, (1.)

² Colanica, 2.

³ Vandogara, 2.

⁴ 23-58 $\frac{1}{3}$ (1.)

⁵ 26, (1.)

⁶ Aremenium, 1.

⁷ Cornonacæ, 1.

⁸ Terini, 1.

Cerini, 2.

⁹ Carnavii, 1.

¹⁰ Lugii, Lugos, 1.

Sub Caledoniis autem VACOMAGI;¹ apud quos hæ sunt urbes:

Banatia	24	—	59	30
Tamia	25	—	59	20
Alata Castra	27	15	59	20
Tuesis	26	45	59	10

Sub iis qui magis Occidentales sunt habitant VENICONTES:²

In quibus urbs.

Orrea ³	24 ⁴	15	58	45
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Deinde qui magis Orientales sunt TEXALI.

Et urbs Devana	26	15	59	45 ⁵
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[*He then returns to the Brigantes, and England.*]

INSULÆ autem adjacent Albioni juxta Orcada prom.

Ocetis insula	32	40	60	45
-------------------------	----	----	----	----

Dumna insula	30	—	61	—
------------------------	----	---	----	---

Supra quam Orcades Insulæ sunt numero xxx. circiter; quarum medium gradus habet

30	—	61	40
----	---	----	----

Et super ipsas Thule est: cujus insulæ pars quæ maxime ad occasum tendit gradus habet

29	—	63	—
----	---	----	---

Quæ maxime ad ortum	31	40	63	—
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Quæ maxime ad arctos	30 ⁶	20	63	15
--------------------------------	-----------------	----	----	----

Quæ maxime ad austrum	30 ⁶	20	62	40
---------------------------------	-----------------	----	----	----

Medium Insulæ	30 ⁶	20	63	—
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[*The Western Islands, from book II. c. 2. Ireland.*]

Hiberniæ superjacent quinque insulæ, Ebudæ nomine: quarum occidentalior vocatur.

Ebuda	15	—	62	—
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Deinde quæ ad ortum extenditur similiter Ebuda	15	40	62	—
--	----	----	----	---

Postea Rhicina	17	—	62	—
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Post Maleos	17	30	62	10
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Post Epidium	18	30	62	—
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¹ Raconagi, 1.

² Vernicomes, 1.

³ Orrhea, (1.)

⁴ 24, (1.)

⁵ 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ 59, (1, 2.)

⁶ 33. (1)

* * The Latin translation in the best edition of Ptolemy, that of Bertius, Amst. 1618, is often incorrectly printed in the numerals, and varies from the Greek: thus *Veruvium prom.* in the Greek has 30: 50, in the Latin 39: 50. *Ripa Alta* in Gr. 29, Lat. 39—*Orrea* Gr. 24. 15=58. 45, Lat. 26. 15=59. 45—*Devana*, Gr. 26. 15=59. 45, Lat. 19. 15=57. 45—*Thule* on east 31 in Gr. 21 in Lat. These shameful inaccuracies may shew how much a new edition of Ptolemy is wanted; for they are mere errors, and not variations of the old Latin translation.

The author has perused this part of Ptolemy in 13 or 14 editions; but the only other remarkable variations are in that of 1482, or the second edition. To *Deva* it gives 17° for 18°—to *Lindum*, with all the Latin editions, it assigns 23°, though the Greek erroneously has 20°—and between *Curia* and *Bremenium* it introduces a second *Alauna*, 23°—58 $\frac{2}{3}$ °: it is believed rightly, for the Geographus Ravennas has another *Alauna*, as presently to be mentioned. The ed. 1482 has thus two *Alaunas*, but the old copiers seem to have omitted the second, as thinking it only the first misplaced. For *Ocetis* it reads *Sectis*, as does a fine Latin MS. in the Musæum, of Angelo's translation about 1450; that of Boetius is unfortunately lost. In both Greek and Latin *Devana* has 59—45, but it must be corrected 58—45, as all the maps bear, or 59, as ed. 1, 2.

No. II. *Extracts from the Notitia Imperii, and the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna.*

NOTITIA.

BRITANNIARUM PROVINCIAE Quinque—Maxima Cæsariensis. Valentia. Britannia Prima. Britannia Secunda. Flavia Cæsariensis.

EQUITES intra Britannias cum viro spectabili COMITE Britanniarum—Equites Catafractarii Juniores. Equites Scutarii Aureliaci. Equites Honoriani Seniores. Equites Stablesiani. Equites Syri. Equites Taifali.

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis VICARII Britanniarum. Consulares—Maximæ Cæsariensis. Valentiae—Præsides—Britanniæ Primæ. Britanniæ Secundæ. Flaviæ Cæsariensis.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis Vicarius hoc modo : Principem de schola Agentum in rebus ex Ducenariis. Cornicularium. Numerarios duos. Commentariensem. Ab actis. Curam Epistolarum. Adjutorem. Subadjuvas. Exceptores. Singulares et reliquos Officiales.

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Comitum Britanniarum. Provincia Britanniæ.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis Comes hoc modo : Principem ex officio Magistri Militum præsentium alternis annis. Commentariensem, &c.

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum.—
 Præfectus legiones sextæ. Præfectus equitum Dalmatarum,
Præsidio. Præfectus equitum Crispianorum, *Dano*. Præ-
 fectus equitum Catafractariorum, *Morbio*. Præfectus Nu-
 meri Barcariorum Tigrisiensium, *Arbeia*. Præfectus Numeri
 Nerviorum Dictensium, *Dicti*. Præfectus Numeri Vigi-
 lum, *Congangios*. Præfectus Numeri Exploratorum *Lava-
 tres*. Præfectus Numeri Directorum Veterum. Præfectus
 Numeri Defensorum, *Braboniaco*. Præfectus Numeri Solen-
 sium, *Maglovæ*. Præfectus Numeri Pacensium, *Magis*. Præ-
 fectus Numeri Longovicariorum, *Longovico*. Præfectus Nu-
 meri Derventiensis, *Derventione*.

Item per lineam Valli.

Tribunus cohortis quartæ Lergorum, *Segeduno*. Tribunus
 cohortis Cornoviorum, *Ponte Ælii*. Præfectus alæ primæ
 Astorum, *Conderco*. Tribunus cohortis primæ Frixagorum,
Vindobala. Præf. alæ Savinianæ, *Hunno*. Præf. alæ se-
 cundæ Astorum, *Cilurno*. Trib. cohortis primæ Batavorum,
Procolitia. Trib. cohortis primæ Tungrorum, *Borcovico*.
 Trib. coh. quartæ Gallorum, *Vindolana*. Trib. cohortis primæ
 Astorum, *Æsica*. Tr. coh. secundæ Dalmatarum, *Magnis*.
 Tr. coh. primæ Æliæ Dacorum, *Amboglanna*. Præf. alæ Pe-
 trianæ, *Petrionis*. Pr. Numeri Maurorum Aureliianorum,
Aballaba. Tr. coh. secundæ Lergorum, *Congavata*. Tr. coh.
 primæ Hispanorum, *Axeloduno*. Tr. coh. secundæ Thracum,
Gabrosenti. Tr. coh. primæ Æliæ Classicæ, *Tunnocelo*. Tr.
 coh. primæ Morinorum, *Glannibanta*. Tr. coh. tertiæ Ner-
 viorum, *Alione*. Cuneus Armaturarum, *Bremetenraco*. Præf.
 alæ primæ Herculeæ, *Olenaco*. Tr. coh. sextæ Nerviorum
Virosido.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis Dux hoc modo.
 Principem ex officiis Magistrorum, &c.

GEOGRAPHUS RAVENNAS.

THIS geographer seems to have lived in the eighth century. His work, though written in the most barbarous style, is curious and valuable, but stands in need of an able and learned commentator.

In describing Britain, he mentions the arrival of the Saxons under Anchis, (Hengist); and says, the Gothic philosophers, that is, Aithanarid, Heldebald, and Marcomir, whom he often quotes in his accounts, called this island a microcosm.

He then gives a list of many *civitates et castra*, 'towns and camps,' in Britain.

Though he observes not much order in this list, yet he palpably begins with the southern part of Britain, and after passes to the north; as appears from many of his names to be found in Ptolemy, the Notitia, and Imperial Itinerary. His arrival at the north is marked by his first giving us many names together, to be found in the preceding *Per lineam Valli* of the Notitia, as *Gabrocentio*, *Derventione*, *Magnis*, *Vindolande*, *Cogangis*, &c. and next by his saying "Iterum sunt civitates in ipsa Britannia quæ recto tramite de una parte in alia, id est de oceano in oceano, et Sistuntiaci dividunt in tertia portione ipsam Britanniam, id est Serduno, Conderco, Vindovalva, Onno, Celunno, Brocoliti," &c. For all these names are to be found in the above *Per lineam Valli* of the Notitia; only here they are corrupted, like the other names in the book, to a kind of Italian: and the Sistuntii, as well known, were in present Cumberland, close to Hadrian's wall.

Horsley in his *Britannia Romana* has therefore rightly put the following names as belonging to present Scotland.

"Clidum, CARBANTIAM, Tadoriton, Maporiton, Alitace non, Loxa, Locatrene, Canibroiana, Smetri, UXELA, LUCOTION, CORDA, Camulosessa, PRÆSIDIUM, Brigomono, Abisson, Ebio, Coritiotar, Celerion, Itucodon, Maremago, Duablis, Venutio, TRIMUNTUM, Eburocaslum, BREMENIUM, Cocuneda, ALAUNA, Oleiclavis, Ejudensca, Rumabo. Iterum sunt civitates in ipsa Britannia ubi plus angustissima de oceano in oceano esse dinoscitur. Id est Velunia, Volitanio,

Pexa, Begese, COLANICA, MEDIO, Nemeton, Subdobiadon, Litana, Cibra, Credigone. Iterum est civitas, quæ dicitur Iana, Manlion, Demerosea, Cindocelum, Cermo, Veromo, Matovion, Ugrulentum, Ranatonium, IBERRAN, Præmatis, TUESSIS, Ledone, Litinomago, DEVONI, Memanturum, Decha, Bograndium, Ugueste, Leviodanum, Pareo Classis, Levioxana, Cermium, VICTORIÆ, Marcotaxon, Tagea, Voran."

The following islands, from his account, clearly belong to the Hebudes in part.

"Iterum ipsi oceano occidentali ponuntur diversæ insulæ, ex quibus aliquantas nominare volumus; id est Corsula, MONA, REGAINA, Minervæ, Cunis, MANNA, Botis, Vinion, Saponis, Susura, Birila, Elaviani, Sobrica, Scetis, Linnonsa."

He then adds the following islands, which may perhaps be the Scilly islands, or some others in the western ocean, for none of their names seem to infer any of the Hebudes. "Item ad aliam partem dicitur insula Maganica, Anas, Cana, Atino, Elete, Darocela, Essigradena, Maiona, Longis, Ciri-mon, Exosadeos, ubi et gemmæ nascuntur." He immediately adds, "Legimus ut in ipso oceano jam expleta parte occidentali, tanquam ad partem ingredientes meridianam, sunt insulæ numero triginta tres, quæ et Dorcadas appellantur." This intelligence, that the Orkneys lay on the south of the western ocean is singular: but this writer also says, that the Orkneys are on the east of Britain; Gaul and the Pyrenees on the west; Ireland on the north; and Germany on the south!

But errors in the greater parts of geography invalidate not his names of places in Britain, which deserve a few remarks. The towns put in capital letters are found in Ptolemy, the Notitia, and the Itinerary given by Richard of Cirencester. The others are unknown. Horsley conjectures that *Clidum* is Glasgow, upon no grounds, it being put among the towns near the wall of Hadrian. For it is clear from the author's mention of the Sistuntii, and from his after passing to the towns situated where Britain is narrowest, that is, at the wall of Antoninus, that he understood the *Per lineam Valli* of the Notitia to refer to the wall of Hadrian. This seems to confirm Horsley's account of the stations, controverted in p. 51 of this volume. At same time it serves to establish that curious fact, that the Roman walls were not the utmost bounds of their power in Britain; for while they held Valentia, still the stations were at the southern wall, that is, this wall was

the real fortified barrier. *Carbantium* is palpably the *Carbantium* of Richard, and *Carbantorigum* of Ptolemy, now thought to be Kirkcudbright. *Uxelia* is the *Uxellum* of Ptolemy. *Lucotia* the *Lucopibia*. *Coria* is the southern *Coria* of Ptolemy. *Trimuntium* is the *Trimontium* of Ptolemy. *Bremenium* lay near it, but in present England. The *Alauna* here seems evidently a station on the river *Alauna* near *Bremenium*; if the geographer has not confounded the river itself with a station; for it cannot be *Alauna* on the north of Forth, the other names all lying near the southern wall, as the author says, and as evident from those known. Horsley's conjectures that *Alitacenon* is Elgin; *Loxa*, Innerlochy; *Celerion*, Calendar; *Duablis*, Duplin, &c. are therefore ridiculously absurd, and founded merely on an imagined resemblance of names.

The geographer next passes to the places near the narrowest part of Britain, that is, near the wall of Antoninus between Clyde and Forth. Of these *Colanica*, or *Colania*, is found in Ptolemy and Richard, and thought to be present Lanerk. *Medio* is found in Richard's Itinerary, nine miles on the north of Orrea, or near the Tay: but possibly there was another in the middle of the wall of Antoninus. The other names here are quite unknown.

Our author then passes to other places, which, as we can judge from the few known, were more to the north than the former. *Tuessis* and *Victoria* are known from Ptolemy. *Iberran* seems the *Hierna* of Richards. *Devoni*, the *Devana* of Ptolemy. *Tagea*, the *Tamea* of Ptolemy. The dreams of Horsley on the rest are beneath notice.

Of the islands, *Mona* is Anglesey. *Manna*, Maun. *Regaina* is surely the *Ricina* of Ptolemy, the *Racina* of Richard, or *Rachlin*. *Botis* seems Bute. *Soetis*, Scia or Skey. The rest can hardly be guessed at.¹

¹ *Geographi Gr. Min. tom. III. Variæ lectiones Anon. Ravennatis, ex Codice Vaticano, cum ed. 1688, Paris. 306, l. 3. Clindum—4. Alithacenon—5. Locatreve, Cambroianna—6. Lucotia—8. Colovion—9. Maromago, Duabsissis—10. Triminitium—11. Cocenneda, mox Oleaclavis—12. Pro Eiudensca potest etiam legi Evidensca—13. In ipsa Britannia recto tramite una alterius connexæ ubi et ipsa Britannia plus angustissima.*

307, l. 1, Medionemeton—4. Lano—5. Cerma, Veromo; sed potest etiam legi Veronio—6. Ravatonium—7. Pinnatis, Tuessis, Lodone—10. Levioxava—309. Iterum ipso—310. Elaviana—Linonsa.

No. III. *Description of Caledonia, from Richard of Cirencester, Book I. c. 6.*

VESPASIANA, or ROMAN CALEDONIA.

EXTRA murum sita provincia VESPASIANA. Hæc est illa Caledonia, regio a Romanis nimium quantum et desiderata, militibus et incolis valde defensa. Negotium cujus amplam Historiæ Romanæ, alias nimis de istiusmodi rebus silentes, mentionem faciunt. Hic fluvium Tavum conspicere licet, qui longo cursu regionem in duas quasi partes dissecare videtur. Hic quoque arduum atque horrendum jugum Grampium offendimus, quod Provinciam istam bifariam secabat. Atque hæc eadem erat regio quæ, a commisso inter Agricolam et Galgacum prælio, Romanis utilissimo, famam in annalibus habet insignem. Hic vires eorum, veteresque castramentationes, hodieque magnitudo ostendit mænium. Nam in loco ubi ingens supradictum prælium habitum erat, quidam ordinis nostri, hanc viam emensi, affirmant se immania videsse castra, aliaque argumenta Taciti relationem confirmantia.

Nationes vero Romanis hic subjectæ ordine jam sequuntur. Ultra isthmum usque ad Tavum gens erant HORESTII, quorum urbes post prætenturam quidem exstructam (prius enim Damniis accensebantur) fuerunt *Alauna*, *Lindum*, et re non minus quam nomine reliquis gloriosior *Victoria*, ab Agricola ad flumen Tavum xx. milliaria ab ejusdem in mare exitu ædificata, memoriæ proditum dicunt.

Supra hos ultra Tavum, qui limites constituit, erant VECTURONES, sive Venricones, quorum urbs primaria *Orrea*, fluvii vero *Æsica* et *Tina*.

Oceani littus ultra horum fines accolcbant TAIXALI. His urbium princeps *Divana* : fluvii autem *Deva* et *Ituna*. Pars Grampii montis, quæ ut promontorium late se in oceanum, quasi in Germaniæ occursum, extendit, ab illis nomen mutuatur.

His contermini ad occidentem, interveniente montium Grampiorum serie, extitere VACOMAGI qui amplissimam regionem tenebant, quorum urbes *Tuessis*, *Tamea* et *Banatia*. Romanorum autem statio, simulque Provinciæ urbs primaria, erat ad ostium fluvii *Varar* in littore situm, *Ptoroton*. Notiores hujus regionis fluvii præter *Vararem*, qui Provinciam terminabat, fuerunt *Tuesis* et *Celnus*.

Infra Vacomagos, Tavumque, habitabant DAMNII-ALBANI: gentes parum notæ, et intra lacuum montiumque claustra plane reconditæ.

Inferius adhuc Clottæ ripas accolebant ATTACOTI, gens toti aliquando olim Britanniaë formidanda. Maxumus hic visitur lacus, cui nomen olim *Lyncalidor*; ad cujus ostium condita a Romanis urbs *Alcluith*, brevi tempore a duce *Theodosio* nomen sortita, qui occupatam a barbaris provinciam recuperaverat: cum hac comparari potuit nulla; utpote quæ post fractas cæteras circumjacentes provincias impetum hostium ultimo sustinuit.

Hæc Provincia dicta est in honorem familiæ Flaviæ, cui suam Domitianus Imperator originem debuit, et sub quo expugnata, VESPASIANA. Et ni fallor sub ultimis imperatoribus nominata erat THULE, de qua Claudianus vates his versibus facit mentionem:

————incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule;
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

Sed non tam diu sub aquila suoapte tenuerunt Romani, ut posteritati innotescerent ejusdem et nomina et subjectio. Cursorio hucusque oculo qualis sub Romanorum Imperio erat Britanniam lustravimus: restat ut parili compendio Caledoniorum terras lustremus.

DE CALEDONIA.

LICET tota ultra isthmum prædictum Britannia non improprie dici potest Caledonia, ipsi tamen Caledonii ultra Vararem sedem habuere; unde ducta linea terminum Romani in Britanniam imperii accurate satis ostendit. Citerior vero insulæ pars alio atque alio tempore ab illis possessa fuit: reliqua ut supra meminimus a Britonibus barbaris occupata. Hucusque et proficiscentibus lumen aliquod fænerant antiqua historiarum monumenta. Trajicientes autem Varar flumen extincto lumine, in obscuro quasi versamur; et (quavis non nobis ignotum sit extructas ibi pro limitibus Imperii Romani fuisse aras, Ulyssemque tempestate fluctibusque jactatum heic vota persolvisse,) siquidem condensæ arboribus sylvæ, cum perpetuis montium saxetis, ab ulteriori nos scrutatione prohibent. Relationem sequentem a mercatoribus Britonibus fugitivis acceptam, posterisque relictam, ut sufficientem æstimemus necesse est.

Ad Occidentem igitur Vararis habitabant CALEDONII, proprie sic dicti; quorum regionis partem tegebat immensa illa CALEDONIA SYLVA.

Littus incolebant minores quidam populi; ex quorum numero, ultra Vararem, et erectas supradictas aras ad *Loxam* fluvium, habitabant CANTÆ; in quorum finibus promuntorium *Penoxullum*.

Huic ordine proximus est fluvius *Abona*, ejusdemque accolæ LOGI. Hinc *Ila* fluvius; et ad illum siti CARNABII, Brittonum extremi, qui ab Ostorio Proprætore subjugati, jugum Romanum indigne ferentes, adscitis in societatem Cantiis, ut referunt traditiones, trajectoque mari ibi sedem eligunt. In varia heic promuntoria sese extendit Britannia, quorum primum antiquis dictum *Vinvedrum*; tum *Verubrium* aut extremitas Caledoniæ.

Post illos CATINI. Deinde interiores, Logisque proximi MERTÆ siti sunt. In his oris promuntorium *Orcadum* positum. Cui adjacebant Orcades insulæ. Ulterius manabat *Nabæus* fluvius, qui terminus erat Carnabicæ jurisdictionis.

Ad inferiorem hujus regionis partem habitabant CAR-
NONACÆ; in quorum finibus *promuntorium Ebudum*, ad cu-
jus extrema eximium Oceanus sinum efformat, qui olim *Vol-
sas* appellatus. Ad inferiorem istius sinus ripam tendebant
CERONES; et infra *Ityn*, CREONES. Ad *Longum* usque
procurrit inde, Oceanum inter et sinum *Lelanum*, dictum ab
incolis EPIDIIS *promuntorium*.

Provectus jam ultra flumen Vararis idem illud remetiri
non possum, quin in transgressu admirer Romanos, alias sa-
tis expertos judicio atque experientia, heic quasi destitutos,
tam perabsurda opinione laborasse ut istam Britanniae partem,
quæ jam armis ipsorum intacta quiescebat, reliquam jam subac-
tam atque possessam longe majori et longitudine et latitudine
metirentur, quam tamen eos fovisse opinionem satis superque
constat. Qui enim ea qua par est mente insignem Romano-
rum ambitionem, atque insatiabilem regnandi cupidinem,
consideraverit; et quo hostem, vix ira ipsorum et notitia
nedum timore dignum, excluderent, stupenda ista, quæ to-
tum orbem in admirationem sui facile trahunt, opera erexisse.
In hoc, ut in cæteris quam plurimis, magnam summi Nu-
minis merito providentiam veneremur, cui ut omnia subjec-
ta sunt regna, ita et sempiterna ab incolis gloria debetur et
erit. Amen.

Lib. I. c. 7. ITER VIII. A Luguballio Plorotonim usque
sic: Trimontio m. p. Gadanica m. p. Corio m.
p. ad Vallum m. p. Incipit Vespasiana. Alauna
m. p. XII. Lindo VIII. Victoria VIII. ad Hiernam
VIII. Orrea XIII. ad Tavum XVIII. ad Æsicam
XXIII. ad Tinam VIII. Devana XXIII. ad Itunam
XXIII. ad montem Grampium ad Selinam
Tuessis XVIII. Ptorotone

ITER X. Ab ultima Ptorotone per mediam insula Isca
Damnoniorum usque. Sic. Varis m. p. VIII. ad Tuessim
XVIII. Tamea XXVIII. m. p. XXI. In
Medio VIII. Orrea VIII. Victoria XVIII. ad Vallum
XXXII. Luguballia LXXX. &c.

No. IV. *Dio's Account of the Expedition of Severus into Caledonia.*

A FRAGMENT of Dio in the excerpts of Theodosius, published by Leunclavius, bears the following short notice concerning the Caledonians, just before the battle between Severus and Albinus, or the year of Christ 198. "Then also in Britain, because the Caledonii did not abide by their engagements, but were prepared to defend the Mæataë, while Severus at that time was intent on the approaching war, Lupus was forced to purchase peace of the Mæataë, by paying a large sum of money, getting back however a few captives." It is well known that there are more coins of Commodus with BRITANNIA, or VICTORIA BRIT. than of Antoninus Pius or Severus: and it appears that Marcellus, the general of Commodus in Britain, subdued the Mæataë, and forced the Caledonians to the above-mentioned engagements, about the year 183.

But before Severus went into Britain his generals there had obtained some advantage, for Dio mentions his anger that he could not seize Bulas the robber, "while by the help of others he subdued his foes in Britain." Then follows the account of his celebrated expedition into Britain, as excerpted by Xiphilin, for the greater part of Dio's history is lost.

"After this Severus proceeded into Britain with his army, perceiving that his sons were intemperate, and that the legions dissolving in ease became corrupt. This expedition he entered upon, though he knew that he should never return, by considering the stars under which he was born: and whose appearance he had caused to be painted in the ceiling of the hall in the palace, where he gave judgment, evident to all; except as to the hour of his birth, by the Greeks called horoscope, for this he delineated on both sides in different ways. He also knew his fate from the soothsayers. For a thunderbolt struck that gate, through which he was to lead his army, and dashed out three letters of his name. Severus therefore, as was foretold by the soothsayers, never did return, but died the third year after, having amassed great treasures."

“ Of the [barbaric] Britons there are two great nations, called Caledonii and Mæataë; for the rest are generally referred to these. The Mæataë dwell near that wall which divides the island into two parts. The Caledonians inhabit beyond them. They both possess rugged and dry mountains, and desert plains full of marshes. They have neither castles nor towns; nor do they cultivate the ground; but live on their flocks and hunting, and the fruits of some trees; not eating fish, though extremely plenteous. They live in tents, naked and without buskins. Wives they have in common, and breed up their children in common. The general form of government is democratic. They are addicted to robbery; fight in cars; have small and swift horses. Their infantry are remarkable for speed in running, and for firmness in standing. Their armour consists of a shield; and a short spear, in the lower end of which is a brazen apple, whose sound, when struck, may terrify the enemy; they have also daggers. Famine, cold, and all sorts of labour they can bear, for they will even stand in their marshes for many days, up to the neck in water, and in the woods will live on the bark and roots of trees. They prepare a certain kind of food on all occasions, of which taking only a bit the size of a bean, they feel neither hunger nor thirst. Such is Britain, and such are the inhabitants of that part, which wars against the Romans. That it is an island, has been shewn before. Its length is seven thousand one hundred and thirty-two stadia: its utmost breadth two thousand three hundred and ten stadia; its least breadth three hundred stadia.

“ Of this island not much less than the half is ours. Severus, wishing to reduce the whole under his power, entered into Caledonia. In his march, he met with unspeakable difficulties, in cutting down woods, levelling eminences, raising banks across the marshes, and building bridges over the rivers. He fought no battle, the enemy never appearing in array, but advisedly placing sheep and oxen in the way of our troops, that while our soldiers attempted to seize them, and by the fraud were drawn into defiles, they might be easily cut off. The lakes likewise were destructive to our men, as dividing them, so that they fell into ambuscades; and while they could not be brought off, were slain by our army, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Owing to these causes, there died no less than fifty thousand of our troops. Severus, however, did not desist till he had reached

the extreme part of the island, where he diligently remarked the diversity of the solar course, and the length of the nights and days in summer and winter. At last, after having been carried through most of the hostile land, (for because of his weakness he was generally borne in an open litter,) he returned to the friendly part of Britain, the [barbaric] Britons being forced to conclude an alliance, on condition that they should yield up no small part of their country."

Xiphilin, from Dio, then relates, that Severus, in a conference with the Caledonians, had almost been slain by his son Antoninus Caracalla. He then adds:

"After this the Britons again revolted; upon which Severus assembling his army, ordered them to invade the country, and to give no quarter; repeating these verses:

Let none escape your hands, and cruel slaughter,
Not even the babe yet guiltless in the womb.

And finding that the Caledonii as well as the Mæatae had arisen, he prepared to conduct the war himself, but was prevented by death." Xiphilin last mentions as happening during the short truce, the noted reply of a Caledonian lady to Julia the empress.

No. V. *The fabulous Account of Britain given by Procopius translated.*

Procopius de Bello Gothico, lib. IV. cap. 20.

ABOUT that time¹ the warlike people who inhabit the island called BRITTIA, fought with the *Varni*; the war having arisen from this cause: The *Varni* dwelt beyond the river *Ister*,² and extend to the Northern Ocean, and to the river *Rhine*, which divides them from the *Franks*, and other neighbouring nations. Of the nations who anciently inhabited either bank of the Rhine, each had its peculiar name. Of these nations, one is now called Germans, a name formerly common to all. The isle of BRITTIA is situated in this ocean, not more than two hundred stadia from the continent, and opposite the mouth of the Rhine, being between BRITAIN and the isle THULE. But BRITAIN, lying toward the setting sun, where it is opposite to furthest Spain, is about four thousand stadia from the continent. BRITTIA is opposite to the furthest parts of Gaul, which stretch to the ocean, being on the northern side of SPAIN and BRITAIN. THULE, so far as mortals can discover, is removed to the extreme of the Northern Ocean. But I have spoken of BRITAIN and THULE in former books.

The isle of BRITTIA is inhabited by three most numerous nations, each under its proper king, namely, the ANGLI, FRISONES, and the BRITTONS synonymous with the isle. So great is the multitude of its people, that every year, not a few, with their wives and children, migrate into *France*, where habitations in desert grounds are assigned them: whence it is said the *Franci* claim some right to the island itself.³ Certainly the king of the *Franci*, not long ago, when he sent some of his familiar servants ambassadors to Justinian

¹ Ch. 17. Silk-worms brought to the west, 22 &c. wars of Narses with Totilas, A. D. 550.

² Procopius wrote in Palestine.

³ Accurate reasoner!

the emperor, joined some *ANGLI* to their train; proudly shewing that he also commanded this island. So much for the island *BRITTIA*.

Not long ago, *HERMEGISCLUS* reigned over the *Varni*. He desiring to strengthen his kingdom, had married the sister of *THEODEBERT*, king of the *Franci*; his former wife, who left him one son, called *RADIGER*, being lately dead. Him the father espoused to a virgin of *BRITTIA*, whose brother was then king of the *ANGLI*, and in the name of marriage-gift *HERMEGISCLUS* sent her a great sum of money. On a time, riding in the fields with the chiefs of the *Varni*, he saw a bird sitting on a tree, and croaking disagreeably. Then, either that he understood the song of the bird, or pretended to know an omen from it, he immediately said to his company, that he should die in forty days, as he learned from the augury of the bird; then added, "But I have exerted all my prudence, that you should live in safety and ease, and for that cause have contracted an affinity with the *Franci*, having married my wife from their race, and espoused my son to a wife from *BRITTIA*. Yet now, when I know that I shall shortly die, nor have received either male or female offspring from my last marriage, nor is my son's marriage yet consummated, hear my advice, and if you see good, follow it as soon as I depart this life. I think then that the affinity of the *Franci* is of more importance to us *Varni*, than that of the islanders; for the *BRITTI* cannot enter into commerce with us, but with difficulty; while only the river Rhine separates us from the *Franci*. Wherefore, while these last are near, and very powerful, they can easily do us good or evil, when they please: and must be our enemies unless joined by affinity. For such is the nature of men, that they hardly bear the power of a neighbour greater than their own; and thus are ready to injure, for a strong neighbour easily finds occasions of war. Wherefore send to the island-bride of my son, and whatever money she has received from us as a marriage gift, let her keep it, to atone for the ignominy, as the common law of mankind orders. But let *RADIGER*, my son, marry his step-mother, since the law of our country permits."

Having spoken thus he died, the fortieth day after the prediction. The son of *HERMEGISCLUS* succeeding to the kingdom of the *Varni*, by the advice of the chiefs of that barbarous nation, followed the counsel of the deceased king; and immediately renouncing his bride, married his step-mother.

Which when his bride heard, impatient of the indignity, she eagerly desired revenge. For these barbarians value modesty so much, that a woman seems to have forfeited it who is betrothed but fails of marriage. And first by some of her familiar friends, whom she sent to RADIGER, she enquired the cause why she was so basely left, when she had in no shape violated her faith. But this way availing nothing, with a manly mind she prepared for war. Immediately therefore making ready four hundred ships, filled with at least ten thousand soldiers, she herself led this army against the *Varni*: having taken with her, to assist in the management of her affairs, one of her brothers, not the king, but a private man. But these islanders are, of all the barbarians we know, the bravest. They fight on foot, not only ignorant of riding, but ignorant what a horse is, the image of one being never seen in that country. For this animal is never beheld in BRITTIA; and if at any time these islanders, on account of an embassy, or the like, have any business with the *Romans*, or *Franci*, or any other people using horses, and must then of necessity ride, they know not how to leap on a horse, but are lifted up by others; and when they wish to dismount, are helped down. The *Varni* are also not horsemen, but all fight on foot. Such are these barbarians. All are rowers aboard their vessels; and no other sea service is required; for they use no sails, but always navigate with oars.

After they landed on the continent, the virgin general raising a rampart near the mouth of the Rhine, remained there with a few troops; and desired her brother to lead the rest against the enemy. Then the *Varni* formed their camp, not far from the sea and mouths of the Rhine, where, when the *ANGLI* soon arrived, battle was joined, and the *Varni* defeated with great slaughter, the survivors flying with the king. The *ANGLI* pursuing them but a little way, as foot-men could do, returned to their camp. The virgin bitterly reviled them, and loaded her brother with reproaches; affirming that they had done nothing, who had not brought RADIGER to her alive. Having then chosen a band of the bravest, she ordered them to use every means to take him. They obeying her carefully, searched all the region round, till they found RADIGER lurking in a thick wood, and brought him bound before the virgin, while he stood trembling in expectation of immediate death. But she, beyond hope, neither punished him capitally, nor severely; but thinking it enough to

reproach him for his conduct, she asked him the cause why, breaking his faith, he had wedded another, and that while his bride was free from fault? He, excusing the deed, pleaded the command of his father, and the advice of his chiefs: and with earnest entreaty, ascribing his crime to necessity, he promised to be her husband if she would, and to atone for his faults by future offices. The maid consenting, RADIGER was freed from his chains, and kindly treated. Soon after having sent back the sister of THEODEBERT, he married the virgin of BRITTIA. So ended this matter.

In that island, BRITTIA, the ancients built a long wall, which divides a great part of it from the other; because that the affections of the soil and sky, and all things else, differ much in these two parts. For the region which reaches from the wall to the rising sun, enjoys a healthy heaven, and just seasons; the summer being temperately hot, the winter moderately cold; and it abounds with inhabitants who live like other people. The trees shine with fruits in their seasons, and happy harvests rise, as elsewhere; the land is also peculiarly blest with wealth of water. But on the west all is quite the contrary, so that a man could not live there half an hour. Vipers, innumerable serpents, and venomous beasts of all kinds, obtain that region. Nay, what is very remote from common ideas, the BRITTI relate that if any man passes over the wall, he that moment expires, opprest with the pestilent gale. Animals also who go beyond the wall are seized with instant death. And since I am fallen upon this part of history, it becomes necessary to commemorate a matter very like a fable. Which however I do not think true, though related by many people, who asserted their being on the spot where it happens, and their hearing what was said. Nor do I think proper to pass this, lest in describing the affairs of the isle BRITTIA, I should seem ignorant of any one of them.

They relate therefore that the souls of dead men are accustomed to be carried there: and the manner this is done I shall soon declare, as I have heard it from the inhabitants of these parts, who related it very seriously: which, however commonly told, I imagine to be delusions of sleep. Many villages crowd the shore of the region opposite to the island BRITTIA; in which villages dwell fishers, farmers, and others, who navigate into that island for the sake of trade. They are subject to the kings of the *Franci*, but always free from tribute,

being relieved of old from this burden, on account of some service of which I shall now speak. The natives tell, that they have power, each in his turn, of bringing souls into this other world. Wherefore they, who are to enjoy that privilege next night, going to their houses fall asleep, expecting the president of the business. Late at night they hear knocking at their doors, and an obscure voice summon them to the task. Rejecting all delay, they rise from their beds, and go to the shore, ignorant by what force they are driven, but yet absolutely forced. There they see boats ready, not their own, but others, and empty. Entering them they seize the oars, and perceive the vessels quite full of passengers, so that they are immersed to within an inch of the water. They see nobody, nor do they take more than an hour to reach BRIT-TIA, although when they use their own vessels, and oars alone without sails, they hardly pass thither in a day and a night. Arriving at the isle, as soon as they find their passengers landed, they depart; the vessels being suddenly unloaded, and so emergent that the keels alone are under water. They see none, either navigating or leaving the ship; only they assert they hear a voice which seems to repeat the name of each passenger, his former station of life, and the name of his father. If any women are with them, the names of their husbands are also called. So the natives report. But I return to my subject.

No. VI. *Some Passages in Adomnan's Life of Columba, omitted in the printed Copies.*

ADOMNANI VITA COLUMBÆ, *Bib. Reg. 8 D. 1X.*

Lib. I. *Post c. 6. suscepit.*

De bellorum fragoribus longe commissorum beati propheta viri.

POST bellum Culedrebene, sicuti nobis traditum est, duobus transactis annis, quo tempore vir beatus de Scotia peregrinaturus primitus enavigavit, quadam die, hoc est eadem hora qua in Scotia commissum est bellum, quod Scotice dicitur *Ondemone*, idem homo Dei coram CONALLO rege filio COMGIL in Bryttania conversatus, per omnia enarravit; tam de bello commisso, quam etiam de illis regibus, quibus Dominus de inimicis victoriam condonavit. Quorum propria vocabula ANMORIUS filius SCETNI; et duo filii MAICERCE, DOMNALLUS et FORCUS. Se et de rege *Cruithniorum*, qui ECHUVISLAID vocitabatur, quemadmodum victus, currui insidens, evaserit, prophetizavit similiter sanctus.

C. 7. *De bello Miathorum.*

C. 8. De tribus filiis suis regnaturus, ARCURIUS an ECHODIUS FIND, an DOMINGARTUS.

Euchodius, leg. EUGHODIUS BUIDE.

Adimpleta sunt, adde: Nam ARTURIUS (sic) et ECHODIUS FIND, non longo post temporis intervallo Micitorum (sic, lege Miatorum) superius memorato in bello trucidati sunt. DOMINGARTUS vero in Saxonia, bellica in strage interfectus est. ECHODIUS autem BUIDE post patrem in regnum successit.

C. 9. "Ad S'tum Columbam in Dorso Cetæ per nutritores adductus est."

Post c. 10. (De Scandlano.)

De Duobus aliis regnatoribus, qui duo nepotes MUIRETHACHI vocitabantur, BAITANUS filius MAICERCE, et EUCHUDIUS filius DOMNAIL, beati propheta viri.

Alio in tempore, per asperam et saxosam regionem iter faciens, quæ dicitur *Ardamuircol* et suos audiens comites,

LAISRANUM utique filium FERADACHI, et DERMICIUM ministratorem, de duobus supra memoratis regibus in via sermocinari, hæc ad eos verba depromit. “O filioli, quare inaniter de his sic confabulamini? Nam illi ambo reges de quibus nunc sermocinamini nuper ab inimicis decapitati disperi-
 ri. In hac quoque die aliqui de Scocia adventantes nautæ hæc eadem vobis de illis indicabunt regibus.” Quod venerabilis viri vaticinium eadem die de Hybernia navigatores, ad locum qui dicitur *Muirbolc paradisi* pervenientes, superscriptis ejus bini comitibus, et in eadem navi cum sancto navigantibus, de hisdem interfectis regibus expletum retulerunt.

De OINGUSIO filio AIDO COMANI, Sancti propheta viri.

Hic namque de patria, cum aliis duobus fratribus, effugatus, ad Sanctum in Brittania peregrinantem, exul venit. Cuique benedicens hæc de eo prophetizans sancto promittit de pectore verba. “Hic juvenis, defunctis ejus ceteris fratribus, superstes remanens multo est regnaturus in patria tempore, et inimici ejus coram ipso cadent. Nec tamen ipse unquam in manus tradetur inimicorum; sed morte placida senex inter amicos morietur.” Quæ omnia juxta sancti verbum plene sunt adimpleta. Hic est OINGUSIUS cujus cognomen BRONBACHAL.

De filio DERMITI regis, qui AIDUS SLANE lingua nominatus est Scottica, propheta beati viri.

Alio in tempore, cum vir beatus in Scocia per aliquot de moraretur dies, ad supradictum AIDUM (ad se venientem) sic propheticè locutus ait. “Precavere debes, fili! ne tibi a Deo totius Hiberniæ regni prerogativam monarchiæ prædestinatum, paricidali faciente peccato, amittas. Nam si quandoque illud commiseris, non toto patris regno sed ejus aliqua parte in gente tua, brevi finieris tempore.” Quæ verba sancti sic sunt expleta, secundum ejus vaticinationem. Nam post SUIBNEUM filium COLUMBANI dolo ab eo interfectum, non plus ut fertur, quam quatuor annis, et tribus mensibus, regni concessa potitus est parte.

*De Rege RODERCO filio TOTAIL, qui Petra Cloithe regnavit,
beati viri propheta.*

Alio IDEM in tempore, ut erat Sancti viri amicus, aliquam ad eum occultam per LUGREUM MOCUMIN, legationem misit, scire volens si ab inimicis esset trucidandus, an non. At vero LUGBEUS a Sancto interrogatus, de eodem rege, et regno, et populo ejus, respondens, quasi misertus dicit: "Quid de illo inquiris misero, qui qua hora ab inimicis occidatur nullo modo sciri potest?" Sanctus tum deinde profatur: "Nunquam in manus tradetur inimicorum; sed in sua, super suam plumatiunculam, morietur domo." Quod sancti de rege RODERCO vaticinium plene adimpletum est. Nam juxta verbum ejus domo sua morte placida obiit.

(Tunc, c. 11. et post.)

*De COLGIO AIDO, DRAIGNICHE filio, a nepotibus FECHUREG
orto, et de quodam occulto matris ejus plecato, propheta
Sancti.*

Alio in tempore supra memoratum COLGIUM apud se in Hyona commorantem insula, Sanctus de sua interrogat genitrice, si esset religiosa, an non. Cui ipse inquires ait bene moratam, &c.

De LAISRANO ORTHOLANO homine sancto.

Vir beatus quendam de suis monachum, nomine TRENUM, gente MOCURUNTIR legatum ad Scotiam, &c.

(Post. c. 12.)

De quodam BAITANO, qui cum ceteris, desertum marinum appetens, enavigaverat, Sancti propheta viri.

Alio in tempore quidam BAITANUS, gente nepos MATHALOIRC, benedici a sancto petivit cum ceteris in mari heremum quesiturus, &c.

*De NEMANO quodam ficto penitente.**Post 13. De i vocali litera.**De libro in aquarum vas sicuti prædixerat cadente.**De corniculo attramenti inaniter defuso.**De alicujus adventu hospitis, quem sanctus pronuntiavit.**De aliquo miserabili viro qui ultra supradictum clamitabat fretum.**Tunc 14. Romani juris civitas.**C. 19. pro Scocia lege Scia.**Post 19. 3 fol. et inter alia.*

Sed et illud non est tacendum quod aliquando de tali incomparabili vocis ejus sublevatione, juxta Brudei regis municionem, accidisse traditur. Nam ipse sanctus cum paucis fratribus, extra regis municionem dum vespertinales Dei laudes ex more celebraret, quidam magi ad eos propius accedentes, in quantum poterant prohibere conabantur, ne de ore ipsorum divinæ laudis sonus inter gentiles audiretur. Quo comperto sanctus quadragesimum et quartum psalmum decantare cepit. Mirumque in modum ita vox ejus in aere eodem momento, instar alicujus formidabilis tonitruï elevata est, ut et rex et populus intolerabili essent pavore perterriti.

*De quodam divite qui LUGUDIUS CLODIUS vocitabatur.**(Post. c. 30.)**De bello quod in municione Cethirni post multa commissum est tempora; et de quodam fonticulo ejusdem terrulæ proximo; sancti prescientia viri.*

Alio in tempore vir beatus cum post regum in Dorso Ceta¹ condictum, AIDI videlicet filii AMMIRECH, et AIDANI filii GABRANI, ad campos reverteretur equoreos, ipse et COMGELLUS abbas, quadam serena estivi temporis die, haud procul a super memorata municione resident. Tum proinde aqua de quodam proximo, ad manus lavandas, fonticulo ad sanctos in cneo defertur vasculo, quam cum COLUMBA accepisset ad abbatem COMGELLUM a latere sedentem sic profatur. “ Ille fonticulus, O COMGELLE, de quo hæc effusa nobis allata est aqua, veniet dies quum nullis usibus humanis

¹ Drumkeat in Hibernia,

aptus erit." "Qua causa," ait COMGELLUS, "ejus fontana corrumpetur unda?" Sanctus tunc COLUMBA: "Quum humano," inquit, "cruore replebitur. Nam mei cognitionales amici, et tui secundum carnem cognati, hoc est, NELLIS nepotes, et CRUTHINI populi, in hac vicina municione *Cechirni*, belligerantes, committent bellum. Unde insuper memorato fonte aliquis de mea cognitione trucidabitur humuncio; cujus cum ceteris interfecti sanguine ejusdem fonticuli locus replebitur." Quæ ejus veridica, suo tempore, post multos vaticinatio expleta est annos. In quo bello, ut multi norunt populi, DOMNALLUS AIDI filius victor sullimatus est: et in eodem, secundum sancti vaticinium viri, fonticulo quidam de parentela ejus interfectus est homo. Alius michi ADOMNANO Christi miles, FINANUS nomine, qui vitam multis anachoreticam annis juxta *Roboreti* monasterium *Campi* irreprehensibiliter ducebat, de eodem bello, se presente commisso aliqua enarrans, protestatus est in supradicta fonte truncum cadaverinum vidisse, eademque die ad monasterium sancti COMGELLI, quod Scottice dicitur *Cambas*, commisso reversum bello, quia inde prius venerat; ibidemque duos sancti COMGELLI monachos reperisse. Quibus cum de bello coram se acto, et de fonticulo humano cruore corrupto, aliquanta enarravit, illi consequenter: "Verus est propheta COLUMBA," aiunt, "qui hæc omnia quæ hodie de bello, et de fonticulo, expleta enarras, ante multos annos futura nobis audientibus coram sancto COMGELLO, juxta *Cethirin* sedens municionem, prænunciaverat."

LIBER II.

Cap. 32. *De FENTENI filii AIDO, in extremis positi
sanitate.*

Alio quoque in tempore sanctus, cum trans *Britanicum* iter ageret *Dorsum*, quidam juvenis, unus comitum, subita molestatus egrimonia ad extrema usque perductus, nomine FENTENUS. Pro quo commilitones sanctum mœsti rogitant ut oraret. Qui statim eis compaciens, sanctas cum intenta oratione, expandit ad cælum manus, egroque benedicens,

ait : " Hic, pro quo interpellatis juvenculus, viva vivet longa ; et post omnem nostrum, qui hic assumus, exitum superstes remanebit, in bona moriturus senecta." Quod beati vivi vaticinium plene per omnia expletum est. Nam idem juvenis, illius postea monasterii fundator quod dicitur *Kailli An find*, in bona senectute presentem terminavit vitam.

Cap. 47. Pictorum plebe et Scottorum Britanniae, quos utrosque *Dorsi* montes *Britannici* disterminant.

A great plague through all the world in Adomnan's time, nostris temporibus—Piks and Scots of Britain only excepted. Nos—et in Saxonia regem Alfridum visitanter amicum, adhuc non cessante pestilentia, et multos hinc inde vicos devastante, ita tamen nos Dominus, et in prima post bellum Egfridi visitatione, et in secunda interjectis duobus annis, in tali mortalitatis medio deambulantes periculo liberavit.

* * * These few passages are only given as illustrative of this work. The others to be found in this MS. are too numerous for insertion.

LIBER II.

Cap. 48. De PENTECOSTE ADO, in eodem modo.

Ad hoc quod in tempore sanctis, cum hinc Britanniam
per eam ducimus, quidam juvenis, unus conditus, et
in hunc mundum ad extremum eam perducit, nos
Festinus. Pro quo commendatione sancti patris regis
et omni. Qui aliam eis commendat, ante se non infusa
oratione, expedit ad eam eam, eoque benedictio.

No. VII. *The CONTENTS of, and EXTRACTS from, the Register of the Priory of St Andrews.*¹

EXCERPTA QUÆDAM DE MAGNO REGISTRO PRIORATUS
S'TI ANDREÆ.

MS. Harl. 4628.

PARS I.

CONTENTA REGISTRI.

In Registro Prioratus S'ti Andreæ sunt :

1. INSTRUMENTUM electionis Johannis de Haddington in priorem S'ti Andreæ.
2. Carta per Gilbertum priorem, facta Ricardo filio Rogeri de Fedmohe.
3. Alia Carta per Walterum priorem, dicto Rogero, quæ terræ fuerit in carta secunda limites designatæ. (*sic.*)
4. Relatio quid acciderit de contraversia post mortem Willielmi Phraser Episcopi, et instrumentum de eo, 1209.
5. *Antiqua Allusio de numero Septenario, et Interpretatio loci Apocal. de 7 Sigillis.*
6. Decisio contraversiæ inter Keledeos et Episcopum de jurisdictione agri, per Thom. Ranulphum, Guardianum citra Mare Scoticum, A^o 1309.
7. *Tractatus de Dictionibus Bibliæ ; usque ad fol. 44.*

¹ This Register has been missing ever since 1660, when it was last seen in the hands of James Nairn, minister at the abbacy of Holyroodhouse. *Dalr. Coll. p. 106.*

These Contents and Extracts had however been taken, and passed into the library of Sir R. Sibbald, who communicated part to Innes. They are now published entire from a MS. in the Harleian Library, N^o 4628; written after 1708, for it contains a piece of Lord Cromarty's, dated that year, and transcribed in the same hand-writing. There are several other MSS. on Scottish affairs in the same library, written by the same hand. (Query, If Anderson's, the publisher of the *Diplomata*?)

From Sir R. Sibbald's History of Fife, and from Innes's account, this copy is clearly taken from the one in Sir R. Sibbald's library.

8. Bulla Innocentii 4. Papæ, confirmans terras et donationes et privilegia facta prioratui S'ti Andreæ, 1248. Anno 5to Innocentii 4ti.
9. *Nomina Regum Scotiae et Pictorum*, a fol. 46 ad fol. 49.
10. Oblatio Alexandri Primi Regis et Sybillæ uxoris ejus, fol. 49.
11. Petitio Kelideorum, et subjectio eorum Episcopo S'ti Andreæ.
12. *Proverbia Catonis, Pamphyli, Maximiani, Annani, Ovidii*, ad fol. 55.
13. *Relatio quo David, filius Roberti Regis, factus fuit Miles, Anno 1331, per Thomam Ranulphum Comitem Moraviæ, per licentiam Comitis de Fyfe; et postea coronatus fuit per Jacobum Ben, Episcopum S'ti Andreæ, apud Scone, Dominica proxima.*
14. *Consecratio magnæ Ecclesiæ per Episcopum Willielmum de Lamberton, in presentia Roberti Regis, et 6 Episcoporum, et multorum Comitum et Baronum, Anno 1328, 3 Nonas Julii; et Oblatio Regis, et Episcoporum, illo die.*
15. Cartæ Ricardi Regis Angliæ de Restitutione Bervici, et Roxburgh, Willielmo Regi Scotiæ, et omnium Cartarum quos pater Ricardi extorsit a dicto Willielmo, per ejus captionem, ita ut omnia sunt in posterum ut erant tempore Malcolmi Regis.
16. *Genealogia Regum Angliæ ab Henrico 2do ascendendo ad Noah per Matrem*, fol. 56.
17. *HISTORIA Originis Scotorum ex Egypto ad Hispaniam in Hiberniam, breviter inde in Britanniam*, fol. 57; et *Genealogia S'tæ Margaretæ uxoris Malcolmi*, fol. 57.
18. *HISTORIA*. A fol. 58 ad fol. 99.
19. *Constitutiones Davidis Episcopi de Regendo Clero.*
20. Carta facta per Jacobum Priorem S'ti Andreæ de Lochleven, A° 1396.
21. Confirmatio Ecclesiæ de Errol, monachis de Cupro.
22. — Ecclesiæ de Lauder, Abbati de Driburgh.
23. — Ecclesiæ de Hilleminesin,, Hospitali de Lochleven, et aliorum privilegiorum concessorum Hospitali de Lochleven.
24. Concessio Arnot, eidem Hospitali.
25. Confirmatio Ecclesiæ de Bambeith, &c. facta canonicis de Dunkeld, per Hugonem Episcopum Dunkeld.
26. Confirmatio Wilelmi Episcopi S'ti Andreæ, super ecclesiis in Coldingham, et reliquis spectantibus ad Episco-

pum Dunelmensem; cum concordia inter eos de piscaria in Berwick.

27. — Ecclesiæ de Kethems.

28. Confirmatio Rogeri Episcopi S'ti Andreæ Ecclesiarum de Durhame, de piscaria in Perth, et vicaria in Perth.

29. — de Fedinche.

30. — de Rosinclerach.

31. — de ecclesia de Kilcontach, concessa per Davidem Episcopum monialibus de North Berwick.

32. — de ecclesia de Kircaldy, concessa Abbati de Dumfermline per eundem Episcopum.

33. Confirmatio ecclesiarum datarum abbati S'tæ Crucis per episcopos S'ti Andreæ, Anno 1240. Ecclesiæ sunt de Castello, S'ti Curthberti, cum capellis ecclesiarum de Erth, de villa Levin, de Kumeil, de Kareden, de Gamer, de Hanel, de Bathket, de Bouloun, de Eglisbrek quæ Varia Capella dicitur, de Monte Laodoniæ, Capella de Pentland, et medietatibus decimarum garbaliū ecclesiæ de Kingorn; quas ecclesias Robertus, Arnaldus, Ricardus, Hugo, Willielmus, et David, Episcopi dederunt.

34. Confirmatio terrarum de Hulotston condatarum in Carta.

35. Taxatio Vicariarum in ecclesiis S'tæ Crucis.

36. Carta capellæ de Wederly, facta per David episcopum S'ti Andreæ Abbati de Kelcho.

37. Carta duarum partiarum terræ, in villa de Dundee, facta Radulfo Corbrige.

38. Carta terræ in Clachmanan, facta Murivo filio Gilmelmeli, pro redditione unius carri, vel 2 solidorum, cum ædificatione hospitii.

39. Carta facta Abbati de Driburgh, de Vicariorum sustentatione.

40. Carta ecclesiæ de Restenet per David episcopum, Abbati de Jedword 1242, et confirmatio ejusdem.

41. Carta ecclesiæ de Aberlemni iisdem facta, per eundem Davidem.

42. Carta maritagii Thomæ de Lidel, cum terris de Inche-raye Midmor.

43. Confirmatio ecclesiæ de Kuledon, facta Abbati de Kelso.

44. Carta terrarum de Cure in Forfar, facta Nicolao Burgensi.

45. Compositio inter Abbatem de Culross, et Rectorem

de Kylmany, super decimis de Zachtulit infra parochiam de Kilmarin, facta per Davidem Episcopum S'ti Andreae.

46. Carta per Davidem Episcopum S'ti Andreae, facta fratribus de * * * Scotiae, terrarum in dicta carta diversarum et condatarum, viz. Kelgad, &c.

47. Carta terrarum de Pethmulin Ricardo Monepenny, cum libertate molend. grana apud molendinum de Puthekin sine multura.

48. Carta ecclesiae de Dumanum, per eundem episcopum facta abbati de Jedworth.

49. Carta duarum perticarum terrae, in burgo de Linlichco.

50. Carta per Walterum priorem S'ti Andreae, facta Wilhelmo Giffard, et heredibus suis, de capella de Aldcathyn. Reddendo ecclesiae de Linlichco dimidium Marcæ, et xvi denarios, et etiam concessit capellam de Laneditum et capellam de Polganeltyn.

51. Carta Adæ filii Odonis de maritagio.

52. Carta ecclesiae de Duminam, facta abbati de Jedworth.

53. Carta terrarum de Knispinethyn, et Finegally, et Dundinauch, facta per Davidem episcopum Malcolmo de Knispineth, 1247.

54. Confirmatio ecclesiarum de Innerwych, et Liggardiswood, facta abbati de Paslay, per Willielmum et Davidem episcopos S'ti Andreae.

55. Renunciatio actionis de terris de Pethpont.

56. Compositio inter monachos de Cupro, et ecclesiam de Errol.

57. Taxatio vicariarum de Aberbrothock.

58. Carta terrae de Abel, facta per Davidem episcopum Willielmo de Breichen, 1249.

59. Carta ecclesiae S'ti Cuthberti, de ecclesiis et capella de Brighen, et de Mersington, et de Letham, facta monialibus de Eccles, 1250.

60. Carta ecclesiae de Bucham, facta monialibus de Eccles per eundem Davidem episcopum.

61. Carta ecclesiae de Smalam, facta per episcopum S'ti Andreae decano et capitulo Glasguensi, 1265.

62. Carta vicariae ecclesiae de Eggles, quæ vocatur Kirk-town, facta abbati de Cambusknel.

63. Compositio de annuo redditu, de fermis de Ardmoir, debitis priori S'ti Andreae.

64. Carta terrarum de Ardmuir, facta per priorem S'ti Andreæ dominæ Margaretæ Lindsay, anno 1285.

65. Carta ecclesiæ et terræ de Logindunde, per Ricardum episcopum S'ti Andreæ abbati de Scone.

66. Alia carta per Hugonem episcopum, confirmans donationes per predecessores suos factas, viz. Ecclesiarum de Skone, cum capella de Kinfans, de Cragy, et de Rate, de Liff, et de Innergowry, de Rankismuch, de Lachor, de Bermount, abbati de Skone.

67. Alia carta earundem per Willielmum episcopum.

68. Confirmatio ecclesiæ S'ti Servani, in insula de Lochlevin, per Gamelum episcopum S'ti Andreæ, apud Inchmaulhat, anno 1248.

69. Alia carta facta per Joh. priorem de insula in Lochlevin.

70. *SUCCESSIO in Prioratu*, fol. 118, 119.

71. Pars cartæ cujusdam de divisione de Seck, facienda per præpositum capellæ S'ti Andreæ episcopo S'ti Andreæ.

72. Carta de Rossiclerack, facta per priorem Jacobo de Perth.

Et sic finitur Registrum fol. 121.

PARS II.

EXCERPTA QUÆDAM EX DICTO REGISTRO.

§ 1.

Nomina Regum Scotorum et Pictorum, supra in Contentis, No 9.

Hic articulus ab Innesio publici juris est factus in Appendice, p. 797. *seqq.* sed hoc MS. paululum discrepat in sequentibus.

P. 797. Innes Sluaghmuner, MS. Sluaghmaner.

Ordo regum variat: nam hîc 5. Conal 14—3.

Heoghedbud 16—7. Kineth Ker 3 menses—6.

Edan fil. Garan. Ultimus poni debet ante Heoghedbud: *transferri debet*, annotat transcriptor.

798. 11. Dovenald Durn, MS. Dovenal Dunn.
 13. Heoghed Rinnavel fil. Dovenghart, filii Dovenald Brec. MS. Heoghed Monanel fil. Dondqhart, fil. Donavald Bick.
 17. Heoghan fil. M. 3 an. MS. Geoghan fil. M. 2 an.
 18. Hethfin fil. Heoghed Rinnevale, MS. Heschel Ramele.
 20. Selvhanc, MS. Icalulanc.
 799. 6. Deootheth, MS. Deokleth.
 10. Umpopnemet, MS. Wmpopniall.
 12. Canatulmel, MS. Canatulmet.
 13. Dinornacht, MS. Donarmocht.
 14. Feodat Finleg, MS. Feredak filius.
 17. D. f. Urb, MS. D. f. Irb.
 20. D. Gormot, MS. Gernot.
 21. Galam, 15 an. MS. Gulam 25 an.
 23. Hydrossig, MS. Hudresseg.
 26. Mordeleg, MS. Madolei.
 800. 31. N. fil. Ub. MS. fil. Irb.
 32. Kinel, MS. Kinet.
 36. T. f. Amfrude, MS. T. f. Confrud.
 40. Amfredech, MS. Amsedeth.
 42. Nectan frater ejus, MS. Ferthin frater ejus.
 801. 54. Dustalorg, MS. Drustelorg.
 55. Eoganan, MS. Coganan.
 59. Fotel, MS. Fetal.

Ibid. Reg. Scot.

25. Roith in Veramont, MS. Raith Inverameat.
 28. Girg Mac Dungal, MS. Carus Mac Dungal.
 802. 32. Inverculan, MS. Inertolen.
 34. Laudonia, MS. Laodana.
 35. Finellæ filia Cunechat, MS. Finele Cunnuchar comitis de A.— Dunfinoen, MS. Dunismoen.
 36. Malcolm I. MS. Malcolmi.
 803. 37. Girgh, MS. Girus.
 39. Bothgouanan, MS. Bothganenan.
 44. Macloen, MS. Mackcolm.
 804. 46. Crasleti, MS. Cinfleth.
 Post 49. Willelmus, insere, "Summa annorum a Kinat Mac Alpin ad regnum Alexandri 501 annis:" error pro 371.
 51. Zabulo seminante, MS. diabolus seminatus.

§ 2.

Successio Priorum. (No. 70, supra?)

Anno 1140, *Robertus*, primus prior, per Robertum episcopum vocatus; hic obiit anno 1197. Cui successit *Walterus*, qui propter infirmitatem demisit prioratum. Et successit *Gilbertus*, qui post duos menses obiit apud Clackmahan, adhuc vivente *Waltero* qui resumpsit prioratum, et quantum poterit prestitit, sed obiit anno 1200. Ei successit *Thomas*, qui propter fratrum impietatem dimisso prioratu, factus est no'mtun Iraba (*sic*) de Cupro. Huic successit *Simon*; hic etiam reliquit prioratum et cepit prioratum insulæ de Lochlevin. Huic successit *Henricus* de *Norham*, anno 1226. Huic successit *Joannes Prior*; hic obiit anno 1258. Huic successit *Gilbertus*; hic obiit anno 1263. Huic successit *Joannes de Haddingtoun*; hic obiit anno 1304. Huic successit *Adam de Manchan*; hic obiit anno 1313. Huic successit *Joannes de Forfar*.

§ 3.

Historia beati Reguli, et foundationis ecclesiæ Sancti Andrea: adjiciuntur quadam de Keledeis; et alia ad dictam ecclesiam pertinentia. [scripta cir. A. 1140.]

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi 345, CONSTANTINUS, nepos Constantini filii Helenæ, congregavit exercitum magnum ad depopulandum Patras civitatem, in vindictam suspensionis beati ANDRÆ Apostoli Christi, et ut inde auferat Reliquias ipsius. Tertia autem nocte, antequam Imperator cum exercitu intraret civitatem, Angelus Dei descendens de cœlo apparuit sanctis viris, qui cus-

¹ This seems to be the HISTORIA, No. 18, of the contents. There is no room anywhere else in the contents for this piece; and no other title to which it can refer. The *Historia* of the contents has 41 folios; but how widely written? for nothing is so common in MSS. of this kind, written by various hands, as extreme variety in the size, and wideness, of the writing. Besides, this *Historia* seems to extend quite to the end of these excerpts: and the many charters after mentioned seem to have been given at full length in the original; for they belong to the history of the Priory, and are not found in the contents.

todiebant Reliquias Sancti Andreae Apostoli, et præcepit sancto episcopo REGULO, ut ipse cum clericis suis iret ad sarcophagum, in quo erant recondita ossa beati Andreae, et inde tolleret tres digitos manus dextræ, et brachium inter cubitum et humerum, et patellam genu illius, et unum ex dentibus suis. Ipsi vero has partes de reliquiis tollentes, sicut Angelus illos jusserat, in loco secretissimo reposuerunt. Die vero sequente post harum reliquiarum repositionem, sub ortu solis, venit Imperator CONSTANTIUS (*sic*) cum exercitu suo, et urbem depopulavit, et provinciam; et secum Romæ asportavit Scrinium, in quo cætera ossamenta Sancti Apostoli invenit reposita. Quo adveniens depredavit Insulam Tyberis, et Colossiam, et inde tulit secum ossa S'ti Lucae Evangelistæ, et Timothei discipuli Beati Pauli Apostoli, usque ad Constantinopolim cum reliquiis Beati Andreae.

Tunc temporis HUNGUS, filius FERLON, magnus rex Pictorum, congregavit exercitum suum contra ADHELSTANUM regem Saxonum, et castrametatus est ad ostium fluminis Tyne. Nocte vero ipsa, ante congressionem duorum exercituum, Beatus ANDREAS apparuit Regi Pictorum HUNGO in somniis, dicens ei quod ipse Apostolus, in die sequente, inimicum exercitum ita expugnaret, ut ipse HUNGUS plene de inimicis triumpharet. Cui rex ait, "Quis es tu? et unde venis?" Beatus Andreas respondens ait "Ego sum Andreas Apostolus Christi, et nunc de cælo veni a Deo missus revelare tibi, quod in die crastino expugnabo inimicos tuos, et tibi subjungabo; et læta victoria potitus ipse cum exercitu tuo incolumis reparabis. Et in regnum tuum Reliquiæ meæ afferentur; et locus ad quem deferentur cum omni honore et veneratione celebris erit, usque in ultimum diem seculi." Rex autem, ex somno evigilans, enarravit omnibus suis ea quæ dormienti revelaverat Beatus Andreas. Quibus auditis Pictorum populus exhilaratus, jurejurando affirmavit, perpetuo cum omni diligentia se Beato Andreae venerationem exhibiturum, si ea quæ Regi suo monstraverat ad effectum ducerentur. Die autem postero Picti, ex sponsione Apostoli letificati, prælium pararunt; et, diviso exercitu, circa Regem suum septem agmina statuerunt. Saxones vero suum dividentes exercitum, Regem suum ADHELSTANUM bis septem constipati sunt agminibus. Facto autem congressu, Saxones omni virtute illico destituti, Deo volente, et Sancto Apostolo

¹ Fabricatio lepida! Saxones in Britannia, A. D. 345!

Andrea pro Pictis interveniente, in fugam detorsi sunt. Regis autem Saxonum ADHELSTANI capite amputato, innumera Saxonum facta est cædes. Rex vero HUNGUS victoria potitus, cum exercitu non modico in terram suam rediens, caput ADHELSTANI secum precepit adferri, et in loco qui dicitur *Ardchinnechun*, infra portum qui nunc dicitur *Portus Reginae*, ligno fecit affigi. Post istam ope coelesti adeptam victoriam, in Pictos postmodum non ausi sunt insurgere Saxones.

Post hujus belli felicem victoriam non multis evolutis diebus, Angelus Die iterum, de coelo venit ad Beatum Episcopum REGULUM, quem ita alloquitur: "Ex Dei summi præcepto partes Aquilonares adire non differes, adversus solem orientem, cum Reliquiis discipuli Christi Andreae; quos ex monitu nostro jamdudum reservasti. Et quocunque loco navis illa, quæ te et tuum vehet per mare conventum, conquassata fuerit, te cum Sociis salvo et incolumi ibi in nomine Domini et Apostoli sui Andreae, jace fundamentum Ecclesiae. Locus enim ille vobis erit per seculum requies, et ibidem erit resurrectio in die extremi examinis." REGULUS vero episcopus, juxta præceptum Angeli, Sanctis Viris comitatus, cum reliquiis S'ti Apostoli, erga Aquilonem tendit navigio. Et, per unius anni spatium et dimidii, multis tempestatum jactus procellis, per Insulas Greci Maris quocunque appulsus fuit, oratorium in honorem S'ti Andreae constituit.

Innumeros itaque Sancti Viri labores perpessi, per marina littora, Deo ducente, in Aquilonem vela direxerunt, et in terra Pictorum, ad locum qui *Muckros* fuerat nuncupatus, nunc autem *Kylrimont* dictus, nocte S'ti Michaelis, applicuerunt. *Muckros* vero *nemus porcorum* dicitur. Navi vero qua vehabantur ad scopulos conquassata, crucem quandam, quam secum de Patris portaverant, ibidem sibi erectis papilionibus in terra fixerunt, in signum quod portaverant sacrorum, et contra demonum insidias curamentum. Et ibidem per dies septem et totidem noctes manserunt. Ibidem dimissis senioribus S. DAMIANO, et fratre suo MERINACH, in ipsius loci custodiam, REGULUS, et cæteri viri, cum sanctis Reliquiis Sanctissimi Apostoli Andreae ad *Forteviet* perrexerunt. Et illic tres filios Regis HUNGI reperierunt, sciz. HOWONAM, et NECHTAN, et PHINGUINEGHERT. Et quia pater illorum in expeditione in partibus *Argathelicæ* tunc temporis extitit, de cujus vita filii multum solliciti erant, Deo et S'to Andreae dederunt decimam partem de urbe *Forteviet*. Ibidem vero

cruce quadam erecta, loco et loci habitatoribus Regis filiis, benedixerunt. Inde perrexerunt *Moneclatu* qui nunc dicitur *Monichi*, et ibi Regina *FINCHEM* Regi *HUNGO* filiam enixa est quæ *MOUREN* vocata est. Corpus illius virginis *MOUREN* apud *Kylrimont* sepulta est, nullo ante hoc ibidem sepulto. *FINCHEM* vero Regina domum in qua filiam *MOUREN* pepererat dedit Deo, et Sancto Andreae, et totum atrium Regale perpetuo. Inde transierunt montana, seu *Moneth*, et venerunt ad locum qui vocabatur *Doldencha*, nunc autem dictus *Chondrochedalvan*. Ibi *HUNGUS* Rex sublimis de expeditione rediens, viris sanctis obvenit, et coram Reliquiis S'ti Andreae Apostoli sibi ostensis, cum omni humilitate et reverentia se prostravit; Pictis omnibus qui cum illo erant, similiter cum Rege humili, prostratis coram Reliquiis. Rex vero locum illum, seu *Doldancho*, dedit Deo et Sancto Andreae Apostolo, et ecclesiam ibi ædificavit ubi Reliquiæ sibi nudæ ostensæ erant. Inde Rex cum sanctis viris montana, seu *Moneth*, transiens venit usque ad *Monichi*. Ibidem et in honorem Dei et beati Apostoli ecclesiam ædificavit. Et ita venit Rex cum sanctis viris ad *Forteviethe*; et ibi Deo et Apostolo basilicam ædificavit.

Postea vero Rex *HUNGUS*, cum sanctis viris, venit *Chylrimont*,¹ et magnam partem loci illius circumiens obtulit illam Deo et S'to Andreae Apostolo, ad ædificandum ibi basilicas et oratorias. Locum vero ipsum, nota evidente designatum, ex magna devotione septies circumierunt. Rex *HUNGUS*, et ipse Episcopus *REGULUS*, et viri cæteri, circuitione et perambulatione ita disposita septena præcessit Episcopus *REGULUS*, super caput suum cum omni veneratione Reliquias S'ti Apostoli deferens, suo sacro conventu Episcopum cum comitibus hymnidicis sequente. Illos vero devotus secutus Rex *HUNGUS* est pedentim, Deo intimas preces et gratias fundens devotas. Regem vero secuti sunt viri optimates, totius regni nobiliores. Ita locum ipsum Deo commendaverunt, et pace Regia munierunt. In signum vero Regiæ commendationis, per loci circuitum divisim 12 cruces lapideas viri sancti erexerunt; et Deo coeli humiliter supplicabant, ut omnes in illo loco mente devota, et intentione pura, orationis suæ petitionis efficaciam obtinerent.

¹ *Kylrimont* vere fundata est ecclesia ab Ungusto II. rege Pictorum circa Annum 825, ut ex Wintono et aliis patet. Forsan *Regulus* eidem contemporaneus fuit. Reliqua de locis ad ecclesiam S'ti Andreae pertinentibus, &c. videntur esse verissima.

Postea Rex HUNGUS Basilicæ S'ti Apostoli in parochiam dedit quicquid terræ est inter Mare quod *Ishundenema* dicebatur, usque ad Mare quod *Sletheuma* vocabatur; et in adjacienti provincia per circuitum de *Largaw*, usque ad *Sirencanum*; et de *Sireis* usque ad *Hyhatnoughten Mochehirb*, quæ tellus nunc dicitur *Hadnachten*. Rex vero dedit hunc locum sc. *Chilrymonth* Deo, et Sancto Andreæ ejus Apostolo, cum aquis, pratis, cum agris, cum pascuis, cum moris, cum nemoribus, in eleemosynam perpetuo; et tanta libertate locum illum donavit, ut illius inhabitatores liberi et quieti semper existerent de exercitu, et de operibus castellorum, et pontium, et de inquietatione omnium sæcularium exactionum. REGULUS vero Episcopus Deo cantavit orationem Allej, ut Deus locum istum in eleemosinam datum in sempiternam protegeret, et custodiret in honorem Apostoli. In memoriale datæ libertatis Rex HUNGUS cespitem arreptum, coram nobilibus Pictis, hominibus suis, usque ad altare S'ti Andreæ detulit; et super illud cespitem eundem obtulit. In præsentia Testium horum hoc factum est, Thalarg filii Ythernbuthib, Nactan filii Chelturan, Garnach filii Dosnach, Drusti filii Urthrost, Nachtalich filii Gighergh, Shinah filii Lutheren, Ane-gus filii Forchate, Sheradach filii Finleich, Phiachan sui filii, Bolge, Glunmerach filii Taran, Demene filii Aunganena, Duptalaich filii Bergib. Isti Testes ex Regali Prosapia geniti sunt.

Postea in *Chilrymont* sancti viri SEPTEM construxerunt ECCLESIAS. Unam in honorem sancti *Reguli*: Secundam in honorem S'ti *Aneglas* Diaconi: Tertiam in honorem S'ti *Michaelis* Archangeli: Quartam in honorem S'tæ *Mariæ* Virginis: Quintam in honorem S'ti *Damiani*: Sextam in honorem S'tæ *Brigidæ* virginis: Septimam in honorem *Muren* cujusdam virginis; et in illa ecclesia fuerunt 50 virgines, de semine regio procreatæ, omnes Deo dicatæ, et velatæ undecim annis, et sepultæ sunt omnes in orientali parte ipsius ecclesiæ.

Hæc sunt nomina illorum sanctorum virorum qui sacras reliquias S'ti Andreæ Apostoli attulerunt in Scotiam. S'tus *Regulus* ipse. *Gelasius* Diaconus. *Mattheus* Heremita. S. *Damianus* Presbyter: et *Merinachus* frater ejus. *Nervius* et *Crisemus* de Nola Insula. *Mirenus*: et *Thuluculus* Diaconus. *Nathabeus*, et *Silvius* frater ejus. Septem Heremitæ de Insula Tiberis, *Felix*, *Juranus*, *Mauritius*, *Madianus*, *Philippus*, *Eugenius*, *Lunus*. Et tres virgines de Colossia, sciz. *Ki-*

duana, Potentia, Cineria. Hæ virgines sepultæ sunt ad ecclesiam S. *Anaglas*.

THANA FILIUS DUDABRACH HOC MONUMENTUM SCRIPSIT
REGI PHERATH FILIO BERGETH¹ IN VILLA MIGDELE.

HÆC, ut præfati sumus, sicut in veteribus Pictorum libris scripta reperimus, transcripsimus. Affirmant plerique Scotorum Beatum Apostolum Andream viventem in corpore, ibidem fuisse, hoc argumentum assertionis suæ assumentes, quod terram Pictorum sc. Scythicam, in sortem prædicationis accepit; et ideo locum istum præ cunctis locis carum habebat; et quod non explevit vivus expleat carne solutus. Quod quia scriptum non reperimus, in neutram partem, negando, vel affirmando, nimium inclinamus: sed quoniam de virtutibus et miraculis, quæ per sanctum Apostolum suum Deus et fecit, et facit, facta est mentio, unde et quædam illorum scribendi obtulit se occasio, quæ vel scripta reperimus, vel a veridicis audivimus relatoribus, vel etiam ipsi perspeximus, scribere Deo donante disposuimus: et hoc non fratres postulaverunt. Interim autem distulimus donec inceptum compleamus.

DELETO igitur funditus Pictorum regno, et a Scotis occupato, vicissim res et possessiones ecclesiæ crescebant, aut decrescebant, prout reges et principes devotionem ad sanctum apostolum habebant. De quibus non est dicendum modo per singula, sed quæ ad nos spectant compendiose tractanda. Erat autem regia urbs *Rymont Regius Mons* dicta, quam præfatus Rex HUNGUS Deo et Sancto Apostolo dedit. Sublatis vero a presenti vita Sanctis, quorum supra mentionem fecimus, qui cum Reliquiis beati Apostoli advenerant, et eorum Discipulis atque Imitatoribus, cultus ibi religiosus deperierat, sicut et gens barbara et inculta fuerat.

¹ Vered filius Bargot fuit rex Pictorum ab A° 839 ad 842. Si per hoc monumentum intelligitur omnis fabula, putidum est mendacium monachorum S'ti Andreæ, nam impossibile est talem fabulam venditari intra quindecim annos post veram foundationem ecclesiæ S'ti Andreæ ab Ungusto II. Sed per hoc monumentum forsitan intelligere debemus verba Chartæ foundationis sciz. *Rex Hungus Basilicæ*, &c. Utcumque sit vestigia Geographiæ priscae, et Morum antiquorum, hoc in fragmento facile apparent.

Habebantur tamen in ecclesia S'ti Andreae, quota et quanta tunc erat, tredecim per successionem carnalem quos KELEDEOS appellant, qui secundum suam aestimationem, et hominum traditionem, magis quam secundum sanctorum statuta patrum, vivebant. Sed et adhuc similiter vivunt, et quaedam habent communia pauciora sciz. et deteriora; quaedam vero propria plura sciz. et potiora; prout quisque ab amicis suis aliqua necessitudine ad se pertinentibus, viz. consanguineis et affinibus, vel ab iis quorum animae charae sunt, quod est amiciarum amici, sive aliis quibuslibet modis, poterit quis adipisci. Postquam KELEDEI effecti sunt, non licet eis habere uxores suas in domibus suis, sed nec alias; de quibus mala oriatur suspicio mulieris. Personae nihilominus septem fuerunt, obligationes altaris inter se dividentes; quarum septem portionum unam tantum habebat episcopus; et hospitale unam: quinque vero reliquae in quinque caeteros dividebantur, qui nullum omnino altari vel ecclesiae impendebant servitium, praeterquam peregrinos et hospites, cum plures quam sex adventarunt, more suo hospitio suscipiebant, sortem mittentes quis quos vel quot reciperet. Hospitale sane semper sex, et infra, suscipiebat. Sed quod nunc, donante Deo, postquam in manum Canoniorum devenit, omnes suscepit eo advenientes. Statuerunt etiam Canonici ut si quis eo aeger deveniat, vel infirmus ibi fuerit, cura ipsius agatur in omnibus necessariis, juxta domus facultatem, usque dum convalescet, vel moriatur. Si quid autem habuerit, faciat inde quod voluerit; et disponit ad libitum suum, quoniam in domo illa nihil exigetur ab illo. Constitutus est etiam a Canonici capellanus, qui et infirmorum et morientium curam agat. Et duo patres, qui custodiunt domum, et hospites suscipiunt, atque infirmis ministrarent; qui tamen ibi neque comedunt, neque bibunt, neque induuntur. Ad hoc quoque concesserunt Canonici decimas priorum suorum laborum, et reliquias ciborum suorum. Si quid vero necessarium sive sanis sive infirmis in cellario eorum fuerit, quod de hospitali haberi non poterit, sine contradictione donetur.

Personae autem supra memoratae redditus et possessiones proprias habebant; quas, cum e vita decederent, uxores eorum, quas publice tenebant, filii quoque, vel filiae, propinqui, vel generi, inter se dividebant. Nihilominus altaris oblationes, cui non deserviebant, quod pudisset dicere, si non libuisset eis facere. Nec potuit tantum auferri malum, us-

que ad tempus fœlicis memoriæ Regis ALEXANDRI,¹ sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ specialis amatoris : qui et ecclesiam beati Andreæ apostoli possessionibus et redditibus ampliavit ; multisque et magnis muneribus, cumulavit ; libertatibus et consuetudinibus, quæ sui regii muneris erant, cum regali possessione donavit. Terram etiam quæ *Cursus Apri* dicitur, quam cum allatæ fuissent reliquæ beati Andreæ apostoli, rex HUNGUS, cujus supra mentionem fecimus, Deo et sancto apostolo Andreæ dederat, et postea oblata fuerat ex integro instituit ; eo nimirum obtentu, et conditione, ut in ipsa ecclesia constitueretur religio ad Deo deservendum. Non enim erat qui beati apostoli altari deserviret, nec ibi missa celebrabatur, nisi cum rex vel episcopus illo advenerat, quod raro contigebat. KELEDEI namque in angulo quodam ecclesiæ, quæ modica nimis erat, suum officium more suo celebrabant. Cujus donationis regiæ TESTES multi sunt SUPERSTITES. Quam donationem et comes David, frater ejus, concessit ; quem rex heredem destinaverat, et in regno successorem,² SICUT EST HODIE. Ob cujus etiam donationis monumentum, regium equum Arabicum, cum proprio freno, et sella, et scuto, et lancea argentea, opertum pallio grandi, et pretioso, præcepit rex³ usque ad altare adduci ; et de prædictis donis, libertatibus, et consuetudinibus omnibus regalibus, ecclesiam investire : arma quoque Turchensia diversi generis dedit, quæ cum ipsius scuto et sella in memoriam regiæ magnificentiæ, usque hodie, in ecclesia S'ti Andreæ conservantur. Quæ undecunque advenientibus populis ostenduntur, ne oblivione ullatenus delentur, quod tam crebro ad memoriam revocatur. Hujus nempe regis ALEXANDRI diebus, prope vitæ temporalis finem, dominus ROBERTUS primus Sconensis ecclesiæ prior, (quam et idem rex Canonicis dederat, et multis donis atque possessionibus ditaverat,) in Episcopum Scotorum electus fuit. Sic quippe, ab antiquo, episcopi S'ti Andreæ dicti sunt. Et in scriptis tam antiquis, quam modernis, inveniuntur dicti Summi Archiepiscopi, sive Summi Episcopi Scotorum. Unde et conscribi fecit in theca evangelii Fothet episcopus, maximæ vir autoritatis, versus istos :

Hanc evangelii thecam construxit aviti,
Fothet qui Scotis summus episcopus est.

¹ Nominis I. 1107—1124.

² A. D. 1124—1153.

³ Alexander I. Ritus hic descriptus est singularis, et cujus in historiis mediæ ævi difficiliter exemplum reperies.

Sic et nunc quoque in vulgari et communi locutione *Escop Alban*, i. e. Episcopi Albaniae, appellantur. Sic et dicti sunt, et dicuntur per excellentiam, ab universis Scotorum episcopis; qui a locis quibus præsunt appellantur.

Sed ante ipsius electi consecrationem memoratus rex ALEXANDER, ad extrema deductus, fratrem suum regem DAVID, qui solus ex fratribus supererat, et SUPEREST, non tam regni quam devotionis erga Dei ecclesiam, et pauperum tutelam, reliquit heredem. Satagit enim, et sataget, ut quod frater ejus rex, sæpe dictus, inceperat, ipse ad finem Deo juvante perduceret. Plures et ecclesias, et plura monasteria, tam monachorum, quam canonicorum, necnon et sanctimonialium constituit; quibus et multa beneficia contulit. Præterea in servos et ancillas Christi multa operatus est opera misericordiae; quæ non est nostræ facultatis evolvere. Impetravit autem consecrari antistitem ecclesiæ S'ti Andreae jam dictum D. ROBERTUM, a piæ memoriæ THURSTINO Eboracensi archiepiscopo, sine professione, vel qualibet exactione; salva duntaxat utriusque ecclesiæ dignitate, et sanctæ atque apostolicæ sedis auctoritate. Ordinatus igitur episcopus, atque ad sedem propriam reversus, quod anhelabat in pectore, exercere studebat in opere, ut ecclesia, viz. ampliaretur, et cultui divino dedicaretur. In multis tamen, et ante ordinationem, et post, adversatus est ei Satanas. Multas sustinuit injurias, et contumelias, juxta quod ait Apostolus, *Omnes qui volunt pie vivere in Christo persecutionem patiuntur*. Portiunculam autem septimam altaris, quæ in eum contigebat, et quam de propriis usibus suis substrahebat, in ecclesiæ opus expendebat. Sed quoniam impensa erant modica, modice erigebatur et fabrica: donec Domino cooperante, et proxime rege David annuente, oblationes in manibus laicorum, tam virorum quam mulierum, exceptæ, in usus ecclesiæ sunt receptæ. Dein ubi magis quod daret ad manum haberet, magis ac magis opus accelerabat.

Basilica igitur in fundamentis inchoata, et ex majori jam parte consummata, domibus quibusdam ita exactis, cum claustro ut jam possint habitationes introduci, qui non nimia quærerent, et interim per patientiam expectarent D. ADEBOLDUM episcopum Carleolensem expetiit, tam per literas, quam per missalios per vivam quoque vocem, regi DAVID sibi concedere ecclesiam S. *Oswaldi*, cui ipse episcopus jure prioris præerat, personam quam in partem sui laboris assumeret, et Canonicis, quos in ecclesia S'ti Andreae statuere

disponebat, Priorem constitueret. Familiarius siquidem sibi videbatur, et dulcius de ipsa ecclesia ubi se Deo devoverat, et habitum religionis susceperat, unde et Sconensi ecclesiæ primus Prior destinatus fuerat: de qua, ut prefati sumus, in Episcopum electus, et assumptus erat; quam aliunde personam accipere. Nec tamen quamlibet postulavit personam, sed fratrem ROBERTUM, non quidem fama notum, vel conversatione, sed tantum nomine, quem juxta quod ab amicis et familiaribus suis qui eum noverant ad hoc idoneum estimabant. Petiit ergo eum et accepit, nec enim ei de ipsa ecclesia negare poterat, vel debebat, quia quid rationabiliter postularet.

Memoratus autem frater ROBERTUS ex præcepto D. Episcopi aliquandiu apud S'tum Andream conversatus est, et sine Canonicis, non tamen sine Clericis, prebente Domino Episcopo necessaria sibi et suis. In ecclesiam vero nullam habebat, nec habere volebat, potestatem, donec ei Dominus procuraret quam optabat ad Dei servitium societatem. Nihil tamen de se presumere; sed totum se Deo deferens, et se ordinationi submittens, Deum sedulo depræcabatur ut eum visitari et consolari dignaretur, aut tale donaret, se religionis fundamentum ponere, supra quod constructum edificium firmum esset, et stabile. Sicut enim in corde statuerat nequaquam in alienos labores intrare volebat, quod fortasse sibi facile foret de aliis et diversis ecclesiis, sibi fratres sociare, ne forte diversi diversa sentientes, dum qui essent videri appeterent, in unitatem non convenirent; et sic antequam jaceretur fundamentum, pateretur fabrica detrimentum. Si quos tamen, modo quo ipse disponebat vivere paratis, ei Deus adduceret, eos benigne susciperet.

Interea fratre ROBERTO ex præcepto Episcopi ut dictum est ibidem commorante, D. Episcopo autem circa inceptum segnius agente, venit Rex,¹ una cum filio suo HENRICO Comite, et Rege Designato, ad Sanctum Andream, orationis gratia; multique cum iis Camitum et Potentium terræ. In crastino autem, audita missa, et horis ex more et oblatione factis, veniens Rex in claustrum, quale illud tunc erat, simul cum iis qui secum venerant; et residentibus cunctis, primum multa quæ nihil attinet, tandem causam pro qua precipue venerat apperuit Rex. Convenit igitur Episcopum cum sicut disposuisse dixerat, et Rex Alexander constituerat opus, et servitium Dei non acceleraret, ut in Ecclesia Beati Andreae

¹ David I.

religionem constitueret. Cumque post multas contraversias causareter D. Episcopus possessionem Episcopii non licere sibi minuere, vel dispergere, ne forte a successore suo, a servis Dei, auferret, in quod ipsis ab eo conferretur. Respondet Rex, et dixit, ut de terra illa quæ *Cursus Apris* dicitur, quæ de Episcopatu non erat, quam Rex ALEXANDER frater ejus, propter hoc Deo et S'ti Andreae devoverat, ut in ecclesia ejus religio constitueretur, sufficienter eis tribueret; et tam ipse quam filius ejus concederent, et ad instaurandam terram auxilium ferrent. Quod et fecerunt; et alios quosdam cum jurando juvare compulerunt. Tunc D. Episcopus, quasi sponte coactus, de terris personarum quæ abeuntibus eis in manum ejus obveniant, quam libuit portionem, consilio et assensu Regis et filii ejus, et ceterorum Baronum qui aderunt, fratri ROBERTO in manum tradidit; unde fratres ut Dei servitium illo venientes interim sustentari debuissent. Nec tamen circa opus ecclesiæ segnius egit; sed quo citius consummaret omnibus modis satagit. Ipsa die piæ memoriæ ROBERTUS presbiter Domini, Episcopi frater uterinus, corde voce et opere seculum abrenunciando ad Deo deservendum, in ecclesia Beati Andreae sub canonica regula S'ti Patris nostri Augustini, in manum fratris ROBERTI Prioris se reddidit, cum ecclesia sua de Tinningham, annuente Domino Episcopo, ita sane ut vel ecclesiam illam haberent Canonici, vel L solidos per annum.

SEQUUNTUR Cartæ Donationis Roberti Episcopi, Regis David, et Henrici Comitum filii Regis David, anno 1144.

Robertus Episcopus sæpe dictus mortuus est 1159; *Arnoldus* Abbas Calchrensis eligitur 1160; et confirmatus a Willielmo Episcopo Moraviæ, ut a Legato Pontificis, et consecratus.

Anno 1162 fundata est nova ecclesia S'ti Andreae a Rege Willielmo, et Arnolmo Episcopo.

Arnoldus Episcopus mortuus, et *Ricardus* Canonicus Regis Malcolmi, electus 1163; hic obiit 1178.

Inde secuta contentio Canonicis eligentibus Joannem Scotum, et Rege pro Hugone Capellano suo intento. Tandem *Hugo* factus Episcopus S'ti Andreae: et Joannes Episcopus Dunkeldensis.

Hugone mortuo, *Rogerus* filius nobilis viri Comitis Leicestriæ, electus 1189, et consecratus a Ricardo Episcopo Moraviensi, astante Rege Willielmo: hic quarto post anno moritur.

Post hunc *Willielmus* Episcopus Glascuensis translatus ad St Andreæ. Hic vixit et rexit ecclesiam 36 annis.

Longa altercatio subsecuta; tandem *David de Benham* Regis Camerarius, electus est; et consecratus 1239; et mortuus 1252.

Willielmus Fraser Cancellarius electus in episcopatum S'ti Andreæ, et consecratus tempore Alexandri Regis 1270.

FUNDATIO ecclesia de LOCHLEVIN, quæ postea data Priori S'ti Andreæ.

BRUDE filius Pictorum, qui secundum antiquas traditiones dicitur ultimus Regum Pictorum, dedit insulam S. Servano et Keledeis.

MACBETH filius Finlach dedit eis Kirkness, et alias terras ibi bondatas, ad *Saxum Hiberniensium*. Cujus nominis ratio hæc est. MALCOLMUS Rex filius DUNCANI concessit eis Salinagium, quod Scotice dicitur Thonan: et venerunt Hibernienses ad Kirkness, ad domum cujusdam viri, nomine *Mochan*, qui tunc fuit absens; et solum mulieres domi erant, quas Hibernienses violenter oppresserunt, non tamen sine rubore et verecundia. Rei autem eventu ad aures prefati *Mochan* perveniente, sciens domum festinavit et invenit ibi Hibernienses in domo sua cum matre sua. Exhortatione autem sæpe matri suæ facta, ut extra domum veniret; quæ nullatenus voluit exire, sed Hibernienses protegere, et eis pacem dare, in ultionem tanti facinoris oppressores mulierum, et barbaros, et sacrilegos, in medio flammæ ignis una cum matre civiliter combussit. Et ex hac causa locus ille *Saxum Hiberniensium* dictus.

Idem Rex MACBETH dedit dictis Keledeis villam de Bolgyn.

EDGARUS filius Malcolm dedit eis Petnemokin.

MALCOMUS Rex, et MARGARETA Regina, dedit eis villam de Balchristin.

EDELREUDUS, vir venerandæ memoriæ, filius MALCOLMI Regis Scotiæ, Abbas de Dunkelden, et insuper Comes de Fyffe, dedit terras de Admoire. Et quia dictus Edelredus erat infra ætatem, donationem hanc confirmarunt duo fratres ejus ALEXANDER et DAVID, in presentia Constantini Comitis de Fife; et Nessa; et Carmac filii Macbeath; et Matnecher filii Beellan, sacerdotum de Abernethy: et Mallebride alterius sacerdotis; et Chuadet; et Angustin Sacerdotis Keledeorum; et Berbeadh RECTORIS SCHOLARUM DE ABERNETHY; et coram cæteribus totius UNIVERSITATIS tunc de Abernethy, ibidem degentibus; et coram Deo Omnipotente, et Omnibus Sanctis. Et ibi data est plenarie et universaliter ab omnibus sacerdotibus, et laicis, maledictio Dei Omnipotentis et Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, et Omnium Sanctorum, ut Dominus Deus daret eum in exterminium et perditionem, et omnes illos quicunque irritarent et revocarent, et diminuerent elemosinam de Admore; omni populo respondente, Amen.

MALDINUS Episcopus S'ti Andreae, dedit ecclesiam de Sconan pro suffragiis orationum.

MODUCH filius Malmikel, vir piissimæ recordationis, Episcopus S'ti Andreae, cujus vita et doctrina tota regio Scotorum est lustrata, contulit eis ecclesiam de Harkindocach.

Istæ sunt antiquæ Constitutiones quas præfatæ ecclesiæ solvebant antiquitus; 30 panes decotos cum antiqua mensura farinæ ibi depositæ; et 30 caseos quorum quilibet facit *chudrem*; et octo mala de Brasco, et Derchede male, et Chadre male.

Adjudicatio quartæ partis terrarum de Kirkness, per nobiles et prudentes viros, a Rege DAVID constitutos, quam Robertus Burgonensis Miles a Keledeis per vim rapuit: quam cum Keledeis restituerent victo Roberto Burgonensi.

Tandem DAVID Rex hanc Insulam, et omnia prius donata Keledeis in illa morantibus, concessit Prioratui S'ti Andreae.

Terræ concessæ Priori et Canonicis S'ti Andreae per ROBERTUM Episcopum, 1144.

Balrimund. Strunuthum. Kinmunnins. Cast Dovenald. Drukarachin. Leodechin. Strathkimen. Belluca. Rothmanan. Pettulum. Kinnastarsi. Balgsa. Kinnamore. Drumsec. Balemacedunethin. Egglisnamen. Ballochin. Sconin. Hæ omnes sunt in una carta.

Item Kinninmund in alia Carta ejusdem Roberti Episcopi.

Ex concessione RICARDI Episcopi.

Terræ utriusque Struithin. In alia Carta terram de Sludhachhelm in escambum de Portmoch et de Arnoch. In alia Carta Dunnoir vel Ferdis, Gartech Menethin, Endorech. Item per aliam Cartam dicti Ricardi, Lethin, Pulhun, Pethnacrem, Douredin, Resthoch, Pethmulin, Balentagardh, Pethiwenoeche, Cremacherrin, Classanagasch.

Et per commutationem ab Archidiacono pro Trathyrin habent terras de Crague, Pethtendroch. *Christin Mackgrig* tenet de eis Dunoot aniel, Ballebecklin, carrucatae terræ infra Cursum Apri pro quibus respondetur Regi * * * de exercitu et auxilio; et has terras habet in manu sua:

Radmuneth, Kyndargog, Pentalcin, Ballegone, Kineflair, Kinnemone, Strath Kynnes Martin, Strathkinnes Melserog, Ballehucke, Drunsel, Ballemoe, Drendguid, Eggles Nammin, Rescog, Donachre din, Pethunleg, Ballefagard, Crefinakarri, Petengared, Heneteindorech, Elin, Sconin, Cast Dovenald, Druckerrach, Leddouchon, Struhythin, Lethin, Cragen, Dunortferdu, Garried, Pelhendrech.

Terræ quas *Adam filius Odonis* tenet de eis.

Kinninmuneth ubi aula est. Ballemoedunegin, Peltindreich, Malgast, Mædech, Malgastamerien, Leodhethin, Ballemohob quod ascondit Ballerimuned.

Terræ quas *Crestin Magnus* tenet de eis.

Balleboethin, Dunort aniel.

Archidiaconus tenet Thruthtyrin.

Terræ quas tenet KELEDEI.

Kinkel, Kynnadanfhs, Kynnadin Equ, Lethin, Kerin, Kerneis, Kynninis, Rathmergullum, Syreii, Baletath, Kalteturse, Baleocherthyn, Pethkenyn, Kingerg.

Istas terras tenent EPISCOPUS, et Homines sui.

Nidin Ardulf, Nidin Rusticorum, Nidin Ecclesiæ, Clawhan et Burkelin, Kincapel Balesten, Kynapull Macfindul, Kincapel Bochalín, Balewarryn, Kynapell Ballonsunnyne, Hynedthyn Infirmorum, Inchmorthal, Baledufgal, Kindaras, Ballewyne, Kynglessyn, Puthekyn, Indunnenochen, Balecatelyn, Bale eccles, Balealin, Petendruch, Strathfatha, Balebolin, Dunorge, Macorgetsin, Odoesterche, Dufnipre, Bladbolg, Balepsin, Keenebaesenim, Kinehard, Cragginferdis, Barrimont et Galgille, Ballemmigi, Kenebeck Rusticorum, Gille Michel, Malewan in qua erat Kathimel, et Locolosag, Item Imbladobus Balareth.

NUMBER VIII. Contents of the French King's Manuscript.

Cat. Bibl. Cod. MS. Regis Galliae, vol. III. p. 549.

IV MCXXVI.

CODEx Membranaceus olim Colbertinus. Ibi continentur :

1. Innocentii VI. Decretalis contra Fratres Mendicantes, procurata per Magistrum Richardum Fitz Rauf, Archiepiscopum Armachanum.

2. Benedicti XI. Decretalis super privilegiis Fratrum Mendicantium.

3. Bonifacii VIII. Decretalis de eodem argumento.

4. Versus de præstantia regni Scotorum.

5. Joannis XXII. Decretalis contra Joannem de Poliaco.

6. Magistri Stephani, Medici Hugonis Episcopi Dunelmi, tractatus de quodam prodigio.

7. Versus de diversis signis et prodigiis mundi, quæ fecit Deus ut terreret homines : quæ descripsit sanctus Patricius Hiberniæ Episcopus.

8. Ejusdem descriptio de rebus Hiberniæ admirandis.

9. Cosmographia Prisciani.

10. Itinerarium maritimum Antonini Agusti.¹

11. Versus de tribus mundi partibus, et de distributione totius orbis montium, et fluminum.

12. Mensura totius terræ, secundum Romanos doctissimos, gnomonica ratione certissime comprobata.

13. Descriptio trium mundi partium, excerpta ex Orosio.

14. Chronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum.

15. Chronica regum Scotorum, annos trecentos et quatuordecim complectentia.

16. Narratio qualiter acciderit, quod memoria sancti An-

¹ Hoc est Itinerarium vulgare quod sub Antonini nomine circumfertur sicuti per specialem inquisitionem edoctus sum. J. P.

dreæ Apostoli amplius in regione Pictorum, quæ nunc Scotia dicitur, quam in ceteris regionibus sit; et quomodo contingeret quod tantæ Abbatia ibi factæ antiquitus fuerint, quas multi adhuc sæculares viri jure hæreditario possident.

17. Petri Amfulfi doctrina clericalis.

18. Methodii Patarensis episcopi liber de initio et fine sæculi.

19. Giraldi Cambrensis topographia Hiberniæ, sive de avibus, et aliis mirabilibus, et de habitatoribus Hiberniæ, libri tres, ad Henricum II. Angliæ Regem.

20. Alexandri Magni epistola ad Aristotelem.

21. Ejusdem Alexandri mors.

22. Metrum in destructionem Trojanorum.

23. Daretis Phrygii Historia Trojana.

24. Aliud carmen de excidio Trojæ.

25. Excerpta e Polychronico Radulphi Cestrensis monachi, ad historiam Britonum pertinentia.

26. Aliud carmen de excidio Trojano.

27. Galfridi Monemutensis historia Britonum, cum præfatione Alfridi Beverlacensis.

28. Alfridi Beverlacensis liber de gestis regum Britannia, a Bruto ad Henricum IV.

29. Continuatio ejusdem historiæ ad Edwardum III. secundum polychronicon Ranulphi Cestrensis monachi.

30. Prophetia Cyrilli, Eremitæ de monte Carmelo, interprete fratre Gilberto Anglico.

31. Sanctæ Hildegardis epistola ad Colonienses, de futura tribulatione clericorum.

Is codex decimo quarto sæculo exaratus videtur.

Contents of the same, more fully detailed by M. VAN PRAET.¹

Etat des pieces contenues dans le MS. de la bibliotheque du Roi de France, No. 4126.

Fol. 1 recto,

1. Decretalis contra fratres, procurata per magistrum Richardum Fitzrauf, Archiepiscopum de Armagh.

¹ Here begin the communications of this respectable correspondent, and they extend to No. X. inclusive.

Fol. 4 verso,

2. *Sans titre* : Benedicti XI. decretalis super privilegiis fratrum mendicantium.

Fol. 7 recto,

3. *Sans titre* : Bonifacii VIII. decretalis de eodem argumento.

Fol. 9 verso,

4. *Piece de 56 vers, sans titre, commençant par ces deux vers* ;
Regnum Scotorum fuit, inter cetera regna
Terrarum, quondam nobile, forte, potens, &c.

Fol. 10 recto,

5. *Sans titre* : Joannis XXII. decretalis contra Joannem de Poliaco.

Fol. 11 recto,

6. Incipit tractatus magistri Stephani, medici Hugonis Episcopi Dunelmi, de quodam prodigio.

Fol. 12 recto,

7. Incipit de diversis signis, et prodigiis mundi, quæ fecit Deus ut terreret homines ; quæ descripsit Sanctus Patricius presbyter, Ybernix episcopus.

Fol. 12 verso,

8. De rebus Hibernix admirandis.

Fol. 14 recto,

9. Incipit Cosmigrafia Prisciani.

Fol. 19 recto,

10. Incipit Itinerarium mar.

Fol. 20 recto,

11. De tribus mundi partibus ; et de distributione totius orbis moncium et fluminum. (*en vers.*)

Fol. 21 recto,

12. Mensura totius terre, secundum Romanos doctissimos gnomonica ratione certissime comprobata.

Fol. 22 verso,

13. Incipit descriptio Orosii de tribus partibus mundi, &c.

Fol. 26 verso.

14. De situ Albanix, quæ in se figuram hominis habet ; quomodo fuit primitus in septem regionibus divisa ; quibusque nominibus antiquitus sit vocata ; et a quibus inhabitata.

Fol. 27 recto,

15. Cronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum.

Fol. 29 verso,

16. Cronica regum Scottorum ccc. et iiij. annorum.

- Fol. 31 recto,*
 17. Qualiter acciderit quod memoria S'ti Andreæ (&c. see former contents.)
Fol. 33 recto,
 18. *Sans titre*: Petri Amfulfi doctrina clericalis.
Fol. 45,
 19. Hic incipit prologus in libro Methodii martyris.
Fol. 49 recto,
 20. Giraldus Cambrensis de mirabilibus Hiberniæ.
Fol. 97 recto,
 21. *Sans titre*: Alexandri Magni ad Aristotelem de mirabilibus Indiæ.
Fol. 106 verso,
 22. Incipit metrum in destructione Trojanorum.
Fol. 108 recto,
 23. Historia Daretis Trojanorum Frigii, de Græco translata in Latinum a Cornelio nepote Salustii.
Fol. 199 verso,
 24. Vastacio Troie. (*en vers.*)
Fol. 120 verso,
 25. Incipit præfatio in historia Britannorum, extracta a libro qui dicitur Policronicon.
Fol. 133 recto,
 26. Versus de excidio Trojano.
Fol. 133 verso,
 27. De primis autoribus, sive scriptoribus historiarum. (*Id est prologus Alfridi.*)
Fol. 134 verso,
 28. Cronica Galfridi Monumetensis. Incipit Ystoria Britonum.
Fol. 211 verso,
 29. Explicit Cronica Galfridi Monumetensis in Historiam Britonum. Sequitur Continuacio regum Saxonum secundum Cronicas Alfridi Beverlacensis, et Henrici Huntingdon. **ORA PRO POPILTON, QUI ME COMPILAVIT EBORACI.**
Fol. 230 recto,
 Explicit præfatio. Incipiunt excerptiones de Historiis Anglorum: et unde Angli venerunt, et originem duxerunt. **ORA PRO FRATRE ROBERTO DE POPULTON.**
 30. Explicit Hystoria magistri Alfridi thesaurarii Beverlacensis, incipiens ad Brutum, et finiens in Henricum 4tum, annorum duorum milium ducentorum. Sequitur Continuacio Hystorie, vel Cronica Ranulphi monachi Cestrensis, in suo

Policronicon, usque ad Edwardi Tercii regis tempora. ORA
PRO FRATRE ROBERTO DE POPULTON.

Fol. 229 recto,

31. *Sans titre* : Prophetia Cyrilli eremitæ de monte Carmelo, interprete fratre Gilberto Anglico.

A la fin de cette piece, qui finit au recto du 312e feuillet, on lit ce qui suit.

Qⁱ tñscⁱpta compilavit.

ego frā Pet^us Ma^ymeti ordīs

bē marie de Carmelo exñs scola

ris Parysz illū libellū manu p

pⁱa scⁱpsi et abstraxi a qdā exempla

ri valde antiq^o et cū dyptongis

scⁱpto ī q^o Cirillus cū sacⁱs et sac

dotalibz uestibz et f^r Eusebi^o cū

mantello barrato. et ang's ves^{te}

ī pⁱncipio. erāt curiose et mirabil^r

depicti.

R. Populton.*

Fol. 299 verso,

32. *D'une autre ecriture* : Epistola Sancte Hildegardis ad Colonienses, de futura tribulacione clericorum, et de novis religionibus.

* *Id est* : Qui transcripta compilavit. Ego frater Petrus Maymeti, ordinis beatæ Mariæ de Carmelo, existens Scholaris Parisiis, illum libellum manu propria scripsi, et abstraxi a quodam exemplari valde antiquo, et cum dyptongis scripto, in quo Cirillus cum sacris et sacerdotalibus vestibus, et frater Eusebius cum mantello barrato, et Angelus veste, in principio erant curiose et mirabiliter depicti. R. POPULTON.

This certainly refers only to the prophecy of Cyril. And the signature of Populton, here and before, fully marks that he was the real writer and collector of this MS. from various ancient pieces, which he had found; perhaps chiefly in the great library founded at York in early times: the title of No. 29 bearing "Pray for Populton who compiled me at York:" and the close of that No. and No. 30 express that Robert de Populton was a monk. M. Van Praet thinks the writing French; but some fac-similia in my hands testify it the common writing used in England, in the fourteenth century. Yet that Populton may have been educated, and taught to write, at Paris, is not improbable, supposing M. Van Praet's idea to be well founded.

Ce Manuscrit est in folio, sur velin, du 14^{me} siècle, a deux colonnes, avec les titres en rouge. Il contient 313 feuillets, non-compris deux feuillets, qui sont au commencement ; et dont l'un renferme une mappemonde, ou sont principalement marquées les provinces maritimes de France, et des Pay-Bays. Le second contient la table des traités écrite en rouge. Le corps du volume commence au troisieme feuillet, au bas duquel on lit Guilielmus Cecilus Mil' d'burghley. Les abbreviations y sont fréquentes, et quelque fois difficiles : mais l'écriture, qui paroît être d'une main Françoisise, se lit avec assez de facilité. On peut aisément en confondre l'u avec l'n : le t avec le c : ni avec m : un avec nn, &c.

NUMBER IX. *Collation of that MS. with the Pieces published from it by Innes, in his Appendix.*

Collation du No. I. de l' Appendix d' Innes.

P. 768, l. 3. primitus—fuit primitus.

9. Albanacto—Albanecto.

769, l. 1. Scotti vero—Scotti autem.

3. Malcolmi—Malcolini.

7. Arregathel—Arregarthel.

8. vero—autem.

9. Arregaithel—Arregarthel.

15. et Mar et Buchan—et Mari et Buchen.

27. etiam—enim.

Stradeern—Sradeern.

770, l. 1. Fife—Fif.

16. Dunfermlis—Dunfermelis.

22. Tac, *vel* Tae.

771, l. 3. Athrin—Athran.

10. Muref—Mures.

11. fuit—erat.

14. Gaitheli—Gattheli.

15. Gaithelglas—Gatthelglas.

16. applicare—applicari.

772, l. 1. Fergus—Fergius.

4. Inchegall—Inchegal.

No. II. is given next in this Appendix, complete, in the spelling of the MS.

Collation du No. III. de l' Appendix d' Innes.

P. 782, l. 4. Kinadius—Cinadius.

783, l. 8. Duanan—Cluanan.

10. Forthuir-tabaicht—
Fothuir-tabaicht.

12. tempora—tempore

14. Fothur-thabaicht—
Fothiur-thabaicht.

P. 784, l. 1. Kinadi—Cinadi.

10. Coachcochlum—Coachcochlam.

14. nrurin—uturim.

15. Ku—Kū, *i. e.* Kun.

16. Kinadi ac fil.—Cinadei ex filia.

785, l. 1. Giricium—Ciricium.

l. 3. Niel—Neil.

7. Donevaldus—Donivaldus.

8. vastaverun—vastaverunt.

9. bellum fuit—bellum autem factum.

16. utique anno, *adde*, occisi sunt in Fraith h'emi
Normanni: ac in vi. an. Constantinus rex,
et Cellachus.

786, l. 3. (nomen) meruit—meruit nomen.

5. Lagnechois *i.* Cormac—

Laignechos. *i.* Corniace.

8. Flanni—Flanu (*seu* Flami.)

9. Nail—Niall.

Flann—Flanu (*seu* Flami.)

14. Dubican—Dubucan.

16. Eochod—Eochaid.

17. decrepita—decrepitus.

20. Malcolm—Maelcolaim.

Domnail—Domnaili.

787, l. 2. albudorum—albidosorum.

4. Maelcolam—Maelcolaim.

7. cum—eum

8. mortuus autem Constantinus in x anno ejus
—mortuus est autem Constantinus in x ejus
anno.

12. Indulfus—Idulsus.

15. Sumerlidiorum—Somarlidiorum.

Buchan—Bucham.

16. Maelcolam—Maelcolaim.

19. Dulcalden—Duncalden.

788, l. 1. Culen-rig—Culen-rīg, *id est* ring.

4. Maelbrigd—Maelbrigd'.

Ferdulaig—Ferdalaig.

5. Maelbridge—Maelbrigde.

10. uacornax—uacornar, *adde*, Scotti prædave-
runt Saxoniam ad Stammoir, et ad Cluiam,
et ad Stang na Derām.

Collation du No. IV.

- P. 789, l. 1. Eric—Eric ipse.
 4. Inchegall—Inchegal.
 6. Domangart—Domangrat.
 7. xxxii—xxxiii.
 11. Eeohod—Eochid.
 13. Fercar fil. Eu.—Fercar fil. eū.
 14. Ecohid—Eochid.
- 790, l. 2. Eochol—Eochal.
 10. Selvac—Selvach.
 11. Eochal—Fochal.
 17. Het—Hed
 18. Dungal—Dunegal.
 19. Doneval—Duneval.
 21. Malcolin fil. Doneval—Malcolin fil. Dune-
 vald.
- 791, l. 1. Malcolm—Malcolin.
 3. Malcolm—Malcolin.
 11. Macbeth—Macheth.
 13. Malcolm fil. Duncan—Malcolin fil. Duncē.
 16. Maria—Mariæ.
 18. in pauperes, *adde*, et in ecclesias.
- 792, l. 1. 1. filia M.—filia N.
 7. sponsum—sponsam.
 8. progenitam—progenitum.
 11. cujusque—cujuscumque.
 22. incarnatione—incarnatione Domini.
- 793, l. 13. acuti—acutum.
 14. cēlla, *adde*, Cluni accensi, quæ ibi sita est,
 &c.
 17. Dunchad fil. Malcolmi—Dunchahd fil. Mal-
 colin.
 18. Edgarus—Eadgarus fil. Malcolin.
 23. vigil—vigilus.
- 794, l. 5. conserat—conferat.
 9. funditus—funditur.
 11. puellare—puellarum, *adde*, sancte Marie et
 m. puellarum.
 14. lychnis—lichinis.
 decoratur—decorantur.
 15. omnia, *adde*, ipse.
 magnis—magnus.

- P. 794, l. 16. pretiosarum, *adde*, exornavit.
 795, l. 3. Malcolm—Malcolin.
 8. filii, *adde*, David fili Maelcolain.
 10. Maelcolai—Maelcolain.
 Domnail—Domnaill.
 13. Domnail-bric—Domnail-brie.
 14. Domangrat—Dommungrat.
 Eirc—Eire.
 15. Oengus-saphir—Oengu-saphir.
 16. Fedelinthe-ramnaich—
 Fedilinthernamnaich.
 17. Seanchormaic—Senchormaic.
 Cruith-linde—Cruitlinde.
 18. Fiachrachcathmail—Fiaerachcathmail.
 19. Ecdach-riade—Echdachriada.
 Conare—Conore.
 Mogalande—Mogalanda.
 20. Corpre-cruphini—Corprecrunpchimi.
 21. Corbre fadmoir—Corbre fil. Admoir.
 796, l. 1. Etersceail—Eterscenil.
 Eogam—Eogami.
 4. Aramni—Arami.
 6. Firatbrig—Firaibrig.
 7. Elela-cassiacleg—Elelacasiacclaig.
 Conliach—Conlaich.
 8. Coabtaig-coelbreg—Cobthaigcoelbreg.
 Ugane-more—Iugamemoir.
 9. Eedaigluadaig—Eddaigbuadaig.
 11. Brig, *adde*, fil. Emidib, f. Edom, f. Glais,
 f. Miadat, f. Ail, f. Elchadaolchaim, f.
 Sirna, f. Dem, f. Demail, f. Rodchada, f.
 Ogmaich, f. Oengussa, f. Olmochada, f.
 Fiachrachlaibrinne, f. Sinergnaid, f. Si-
 nereta, f. Enmocha, f. Tigernaig, f. Fal-
 laig, f. Etheoir, f. Jair, f. Dermeom, f.
 Meledespain, f. Bili, f. Nema, f. Brige,
 f. Brigomd, f. Bracha, f. Theacha, f. Erc-
 chada, f. Aldoit, f. Noda, f. Nonailthe-
 mir, f. Goildilglais, f. Nenil, f. Fenius far-
 said, f. Eogani, f. Glumid, f. Janind, f.
 Etheoir, f. Jair, f. Agmemnom, f. Thri, f.
 Boi, f. Sem, f. Mair, f. Esro, f. Aduir, f.
 Hieridach, f. Aoth, f. Sran, f. Esro, f.

Boid, f. Riafich, f. Gomur, f. Jafeth, f.
 Noe, f. Lameth, f. Matusaalem, f. Enoc,
 f. Jarech, f. Malalechel, f. Caman, f.
 Enos, f. Sed, f. Adam, f. Dei vivi.

NUMBER X. *The First Part of the Chronicon Pictorum, with the Contractions, &c. of the original MS.*

MS. du Roi de France, No. 4126.

(*Folio recto 27 : 2de colonne.*)

Cronica

de origine antiquoꝝ pictoꝝ
 picti ppa ling̃ nomen
 h̃t a picto corpe eo q.
 aqileis ferreis cū atram̃to
 uariaꝝ figuraꝝ stiugmate
 ānotantur. Scotti q̃ nūc cor
 rupte uocantur hib'nienses
 q̃i sciti q̃ a scithia regione ue
 nunt 7 inde originē duxeṛt
 siue a scotta filia pharaoīs

(*au verso iere colonne*)

regis egypti que fuit ut fert-
 regina scocie. Sciend' ū est q.
 h̃tonesī ī t̃cia mūdi etati abⁱ
 t̃niam uenūt scite a'. i. scotti
 ī quarta etate scociā siue hi
 h̃niam obtinuerūt gētes
 scitie albo c̃ne nascūt ab assi

duis niuibz 7 ipi⁹ capilli co
 lor gēti nom dedit 7 ide di
 cūtur albani de quibz origi
 nem duxerūt scoti 7 picti
 hoꝝ glauca ocl'is. i. picta ī ē
 pupilla adeo ut nocte p⁹ q̃.
 die cernāť albani uicini
 amazonibz fūnt gothi a
 magog filio iapheth noiati
 putāt de similitudinē ultime
 filabe q. uet'is gci magis
 gethas q̃. gotos uocaūūt
 gēs fortis 7 potētissima corp
 ū mole ardua armoꝝ geñe
 tribil'. de qbz lucan⁹ hinc da
 cus p̃mat ide gethi icurrať
 hib'is. daci ā gottoꝝ soboles
 fuerūt 7 dictos putāt dacos
 q̃i dagos q² de gottoꝝ stirpe c^o
 ati sūt. de quibz ille ibis arcus
 pcul usqz dacos. Scithe 7 go
 thi a magog originē traxe
 rūt scithia qz 7 gothia ab eod'
 magog filio japhet fertur
 9gnominata : cuius tra olī
 igēs fuit. nā aboriēte ī die
 a septētōine : p paludes meoti

das it' danubiū 7 oceanū usq;
ad ḡmanie fines porigebat'

(2de colonne)

postea minor effecta ē ad ext' ori
entis pte q oceanus siric⁹ 9ditur
usq; ad mare caspiū q. ē ad occasū
dehinc a meridie usq; ad caucasi
iugū deducta est cui subjacet
hircania ab occasu. hñs piter
gētes ml'tas p̄p t'raz ifecūdita
tē late uagantes. ex qbus qda a
ḡs icolūt qdā portētuose ac trces
carnibz humaīs 7 eoꝝ sāgne ui
uūt scithie plures t're s̄t locu
pletes ihītabiles tū plures. nā
q in plerisq. locis auro 7 gēmis
affluant griphorū imāitate
accessus hoīm rarus ē smarag
dis a' optimis h' pata est ciane⁹
quoq; lapis 7 cristallus p̄issim⁹
scithie ē. hñt 7 flumina magna
oscoꝝ fasidē 7 araxen pma euro
pe regio scithia īcipiēs it' danu
biū 7 oceanū septētonalē usq;
ad ḡmaniā porrigitur q̄ tra ge
nalit' p̄p barbaros gētes qbz ī
hītatur barbarica d2 hui⁹ ps

pma alania est q̃ ad meotidas
 paludes ptigit. post hāc dacia
 u 7 gothia. deīde ġmania ubi
 plurimā ptem sueui incolueṛt
 in partes asiaticae scithie sūt
 gentes q̃ post'os se iasoīs cdūt
 albo cne nascūt' ab assiduis ni
 uibz. de hiis ista sufficiūt
 Cruidne filius cinge p2 pic
 toz hītāciū ī hac īsula. c.
 ānis regnauit. vii filios ha

(fol. 28, 1erē colonne)

buit hec sūt noīa eoꝝ fiv.
 fidach. floclaid. fortreim. got
 cecircum. circui lx. reg. fidaich
 xl. fortreim lxx. floclaid xxx.
 got xij. Ce xv. fivaīd xxiiij.
 gedecolgudach. lxxx. denbecan. c.
 olfinecta. lx. guididgaedbrecha
 ch. l. gestgurtich. xl. wurgest
 xxx. brudebout a q' xxx. bru
 de regnaūunt hib'niā 7 albanīā
 p centū. l. ānoꝝ spaciū. xl. viii ā
 nis regn. i. brude pant. b. urpāt
 b. leo. b. leo. b' uleo. b. gant. b.
 urgant. b' guith. b' urguith. b.
 fecir. b' urfecir. b' cal. b'. urcal. b'.

ciut b' urciut b' fec. b.' urfec. b.
 ru beru bgart 7 urgart b cinid
 b' urenid b' iup. b' 7 uriup b' grid
 b' urgrid. b' mūd b' urmūd.
 gilgidi c. j. añ reġ. tharam
 c. morleo. xv. deocitunō
 xl. cimoiod filius arcois vij. deo
 ord. l. bliesblitirth. v. dectotric. fr̃
 diu xl. ufconbuts. xxx. carvorst
 xl. deoartavois. xx. vist. l. ru. c.
 gartnaithloc a quo gartnait. iiii.
 regna. vere. ix. ā. reġ. breth fili⁹
 buthut. vii. vipoignamet xxx
 an. reġ canutulachama. iiij. an.
 reġ. wradechuecla. iv. añ regn.
 gartnaichdi uberr. lx añ reġ. ta
 lore fili⁹ achiuir lxxv. añ regn.
 drust fili⁹ erp. c. añ reġ 7 c. bella
 pegit. ix decimo āno regni ejus
 pat'cius sp̃c sc̃s ad hib'niā pueit
 īsulā. talore fili⁹ aniel iiij añ reġ.

(2de colonne)
 nectō morbet fili⁹ erip xxiii
 reġ t'cio āno regni eius dar
 lugdach abbatisa cille darade hib'
 nia exulat p̃x ad btāniā sc̃do
 año aduentus año sui īmolau'
 nectonius aburnethige deo 7

scē brigide p̃sente dairlugtach
 q̃ cātauit all'a sup istā hostiā
 optulit g nectoīus mag
 nus fili⁹ wirp rex oīm
 puinciaꝝ pictoꝝ apurnethige
 scē brigide usꝫ ad diē iudicii cū
 cū suis finibꝫ q̃ posite st a lapide
 ī apurfeirt usꝫ ad lapidē iuxt'
 cairfuill. i. lethfoss 7 īde ī altū
 usqꝫ ad athan causa aū oblacōis
 hec est. nectoīs ī uita iulie m
 nens fr̃e suo drusto expulsāte
 se usꝫ ad hib'niā brigidā scām
 petiuit ut postulasset deū p se
 orās a' p illo dixit. Si pueies
 ad pat'am tuā dñs miserebit'
 tui regnū pictoꝝ ī pace possideb'
 drest gurthinmoch. xxx.
 ān regnū. Galananetilich
 xij ān reġ. dadrest. i. drest fili⁹
 gyrom. i. drest fili⁹ wdrost. v.
 ān 9regñ. drest fili⁹ girom sol⁹
 v. an. reġ. gartnach fili⁹ girom
 vii. ān reg'. gailtram fili⁹ girom
 uno āno reg'. talorg fili⁹ muir
 cholaich. xi. ān. reġ. drest fili⁹
 munait uno āno. reġ. galam
 cennaleph uno āno reġ. cū b'ri

duo. i. āno bridei fili⁹ mailcō
 xxx ān. reġ. in octauo āno reġ
 (*fol. 28 verso, 1ere colonne*)
 eius baptizatus est sċo a colūba
 gartnait. f⁹ domelch xi. ān reġ
 nectu nepos uerb xx. ān reġ.
 cineoch. fili⁹ lutn. xix. an reg.
 garnard. fili⁹ wid. iiii ān. ān reġ.
 breidei. fili⁹ wid. v. ān reġ. ta
 lore fr̃ eoꝝ xii. ān rġ. tallorcē
 fili⁹ enfret. iiij ān reġ. gartnait
 fili⁹ donnel. vi. ān reġ. 7 dimi
 diū drest fr̃ e⁹ vij. rġ. bre
 dei fili⁹ bili. xxi. an rġ. tarā
 f⁹ entifidich. iiij ān. rġ. bredei
 fi⁹ derelei xi. an rġ. necthō f⁹
 derelei. xv. ā rġ. drest 7 elpin
 cōġgaūūt v. ā. onnist fi⁹
 urguist. xxx. reġ. bredei fili⁹
 wirguist ii. ān. reġ. Ciniod f⁹
 wredech. xij ān reġ. elpin fi⁹
 wroid. iiij. ān. reġ. 7 dimidiū
 drest fi⁹ talorgen iiij. l^v. ān.
 reġ. talorgen. fi⁹ onnist. ii. ā.
 7 dimidiū rġ. Canaul. fili⁹ tarl'a
 v. ā. rġ. Castantin. fi⁹ wrguist
 xxx. v. ā rġ. unuist fi⁹ wrguist

xij. ā. reġ. drest fi⁹ 9stātini 7 ta

lorgen fi⁹ wthoil. iii. ān. a'9gga

ūnt uuen. fi⁹ v. nuist. iij. ā.

reġ. wrad. f bargoit iii. 7 bred

uno āno reġ.

cinadius ġ fili⁹ alpini

p¹mus scottoz rexit. (*&c. as Innes, No. III.*)

(Signed) VAN PRAET,
de la bibl. du Roi.

NUMBER XI. *The Chronicon Pictorum, complete, collated with the MS.*

[Written about A. D. 1020.]

Cronica.

De origine antiquorum Pictorum.

PICTI propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore : eo quod, aculeis ferreis cum atramento, variarum figurarum stigmate annotantur. Scotti (qui nunc corrupte vocantur Hibernienses) quasi Sciti, quia a Scithia regione venerunt, et inde originem duxerunt; sive a Scotta filia Pharaonis regis Ægypti, quæ fuit ut fertur regina Scottorum.

Sciendum vero est quod Britones in tertia mundi ætate ad Britanniam venerunt. Scitæ autem, id est Scotti, in quarta ætate Scociam, sive Hiberniam obtinuerunt.

Gentes Scitiæ albo crine nascuntur ab assiduis nivibus; et ipsius capilli color genti nomen dedit, et inde dicuntur Albani : de quibus originem duxerunt Scotti et Picti. Horum glauca oculis (id est picta) inest pupilla, adeo ut nocte plusquam die cernant. Albani autem vicini Amazonibus fuerunt.

Gothi a Magog filio Japheth nominati putantur, de similitudine ultimæ syllabæ; quos veteres Græci magis Gethas, quam Gothos, vocaverunt. Gens fortis et potentissima, corporum mole ardua, armorum genere terribilis. De quibus Lucanus,

Hinc Dacus premat, inde Gethi incurrant Hiberis. ¹

Daci autem Gothorum soboles fuerunt: et dictos putant Dacos quasi Dagos quia de Gothorum stirpe creati sunt: de quibus ille,

¹ Hinc Dacus premat, inde Getes: occurrat Iberis
Alter. *Pharsal.* II. 54.

Ibis arcos procul usque Dacos.

Scithæ et Gothi a Magog originem traxerunt. Scithia, quoque et Gothia, ab eodem Magog filio Japhet fertur cognominata: cujus terra olim ingens fuit; nam ab oriente Indiæ, a septentrione, per paludes Mæotidas, inter Danubium et oceanum, usque ad Germaniæ fines, porrigebatur. Postea minor effecta est a dextra orientis parte qui oceanus Siricus conditur,¹ usque ad mare Caspium, quod est ad occasum. Dehinc a meridie usque ad Caucasum jugum deducta est; cui subjacet Hircania: ab occasu habens pariter gentes multas, propter terrarum infecunditatem late vagantes, ex quibus quædam agros incolunt; quædam portentuosæ, ac truces, carnibus humanis, et eorum sanguine, vivunt.

Scithiæ plures terræ sunt locupletes, inhabitabiles tum plures. Namque in plerisque locis auro et gemmis affluant; Griphorum immanitate accessus hominum rarus est. Smaragdis autem optimis hæc patria est. Cianeus quoque lapis, et cristallus purissimus Scithiæ est. Habent et flumina magna, Oscorim, Fasidem, et Araxen. Prima Europæ regio Scithia,² incipiens inter Danubium et oceanum septentrionalem, usque ad Germaniam porrigitur: quæ terra generaliter propter barbaras gentes quibus inhabitatur Barbarica dicitur. Hujus pars prima Alania est, quæ ad Mæotidas paludes pertingit. Post hanc Dacia, ubi et Gothia: deinde Germania, ubi plurimam partem Suevi incoluerunt. In partes Asiaticæ Scithiæ sunt gentes, quæ posteros se Jasonis credunt: albo crine nascuntur ab assiduis nivibus. De his ista sufficiunt.

1. CRUDINE filius Cinge, pater Pictorum habitantium in hac insula, c. annis regnavit: vii filios habuit. Hæc sunt nomina eorum; Fiv, Fidach, Floclaid, Fortreim, Got, Ce, Circum.

2. Circui lx. reg.

3. Fidaich xl.

4. Fortreim lxx.

5. Floclaid xxx.

6. Got xij.

7. Ce xv.

8. Fivaid xxiiij.

9. Gedeolgudach lxxx.

¹ Locus corruptus, et obscurus.

² Scythiæ inferior quæ a Mæotidis paludibus incipiens.

Innes.

10. Denbecan c.
11. Olfinecta lx.
12. Guidid gaedbrechach l.
13. Gestgurtich xl.
14. Wurgest xxx.²
15. Brude bout (a quo xxx. Brude regnaverunt Hiberniam et Albaniam, per centum l. annorum spacium) xlvij annis regnavit. Id est Brude Pant, Brude Urpant, Brude Leo, B. Uleo, B. Gant, B. Urgant, B. Guith, B. Urguith, B. Fecir, B. Urfecir, B. Cal, B. Urcal, B. Ciut, B. Urciut, B. Fec, B. Urfec, B. Ru, B. Eru, B. Gart, B. Urgart, B. Cinid, B. Urcinid, B. Iup, B. Uriup, B. Grid, B. Urgrid, B. Mund, B. Urmund.
16. Gilgidi ci. an. reg.
17. Tharam c.
18. Morleo xv.
19. Deocilunon xl.
20. Cimoiod filius Arcois vij.
21. Deoord l.
22. Bliesblitirth v.
23. Dectoteric frater Diu xl.
24. Usconbutis xxx.
25. Carvorst xl.
26. Deoartavois xx.
27. Vist l.
28. Ru c.
29. Gartnaith loc, a quo Garnait, iiij regna.
30. Vere ix an. reg.
31. Breth filius Buthut vij.
32. Vipoig namet xxx. an. reg.
33. Canut ulachama iiij. an. reg.
34. Wradech vecla iv.² an. reg.
35. Gartnaich di Uberr lx. an. reg.
36. Talore filius Achivir lxxv. an. reg.
37. DRUST filius Erp c. an. reg. et c. bella peregit. ix decimo anno regni ejus Patricius episcopus sanctus ad Hiberniam pervenit insulam.
38. Talore filius Aniel iiij an. reg.
39. Necton morbet filius Erp xxiiij. reg. Tertio anno

¹ Sic. Innesius habet xl.² Sic. Innes ii.

regni ejus Darlugdach, abbatissa cillæ Daradæ, Hibernia exulat proxime ad Britanniam. Secundo anno adventus sui immolavit Nectonius Aburnethige Deo et Sanctæ Brigidæ, præsentem Dairlugtach, quæ cantavit Alleluia super istam hostiam. Optulit igitur Nectonius magnus filius Wirp, rex omnium provinciarum Pictorum, Apurnethige sanctæ Brigidæ, usque ad diem judicii; cum suis finibus, quæ positæ sunt a lapide in Apurfeirt, usque ad lapidem juxta Cairfuill, id est, Lethfoss; et inde in altum usque ad Athan. Causa autem oblationis hæc est. Nectonius in Vita Juliæ¹ manens, fratre suo Drusto expulsante se usque ad Hiberniam, Brigidam sanctam petivit, ut postulasset Deum pro se. Orans autem pro illo dixit: "Si pervenies ad patriam tuam Dominus miserebitur tui: regnum Pictorum in pace possidebis."

40. Drest gurthinmoch xxx. an. reg.

41. Galan anetilich xij. an. reg.

42. Dadrest i.

43. Drest filius Girom i. Drest filius Udrost v. an. conregnauerunt. Drest filius Girom solus v. an. reg.

44. Gartnach filius Girom vij. an. reg.

45. Gailtram² filius Girom uno anno reg.

46. Talorg filius Muircholaich xi. an. reg.

47. Drest filius Munait uno anno reg.

48. Galam cennaleph³ uno anno reg. cum Briduo i. anno.

49. Bridei filius Mailcon xxx. an. reg. in octavo anno regni ejus baptizatus sancto a Columba.

50. Gartnait fil. Domelch xi. an. reg.

51. Nectu nepos Verb xx. an. reg.

52. Cineoch filius Lutrin xix.⁴ an. reg.

53. Garnard filius Wid iiij. an. reg.

54. Breidei filius Wid v. an. reg.

55. Talore frater eorum xii. an. reg.

56. Tallorcen filius Enfret iiij. an. reg.

¹ Sic. Videtur latina interpretatio alicujus nominis Hibernici.

² Sic. *Innes* Cealtrain.

³ Sic. *Innes* Galam cum Aleph: male, nam hic rex *Kennalet* a *Tighernaco* nominatur.

⁴ Sic. certissime in MS. *Innes*, xi.

57. Gartnait filius Donnel vj. an. reg. et dimidium.
58. Drest frater ejus vij. an. reg.
59. Bredei filius Bili xxi. an. reg.
60. Taran filius Entifidich iiij. an. reg.
61. Bredei filius Derelei xi. an. reg.
62. Necthon filius Derelei xv. an. reg.
63. Drest et Elpin conregnauerunt v. an.
64. Onnist filius Uргуист xxx. reg.
65. Bredei filius Wirгуист ij. an. reg.
66. Ciniod filius Wredech xij. an. reg.
67. Elpin filius Wroid iiij. an. reg. et dimidium.
68. Drest filius Talorgen iiij. vel. v. an. reg.
69. Talorgen filius Onnist ij. an. et dimidium, reg.
70. Canaul filius Tarla v. an. reg.
71. Castantin filius Wргуист xxx. v. ¹ an. reg.
72. Unnuist filius Wргуист xij. an. reg.
73. Drest filius Constantini, et Talorgen filius Wthoil, iiij an. conregnauerunt.
74. Uven filius Unuist iiij. an. reg.
75. Wrad filius Bargoit iii. et,
76. Bred uno anno reg.
77. Cinadius igitur filius Alpini, primus Scottorum, rexit feliciter istam annis xvi. Pictaviam. Pictavia autem a Pictis est nominata; quos, ut diximus, ² Cinadius delevit. Deus enim eos pro merito suae malitiae, alienos ac otiosos haereditate dignatus est facere: quia illi non solum Deum, missam ac praecipuum, spreverunt; sed et in jure aequitatis aliis aequi pariter noluerunt. Iste vero, biennio antequam veniret Pictaviam, Dalrietae regnum suscepit. Septimo anno regni, reliquias S. Columbae transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit. Et invasit sexies Saxoniam; et concremavit Dunbarre atque Malros usurpata. Britanni autem concremaverunt Dulblaan. Atque Danari vastaverunt Pictaviam, ad Cluanan, et Duncalden. Mortuus est tandem tumore ani, Id. Febr. feria tertia, in palacio Fothuirtabaicht.

¹ Sic. sed chronologia tantum xxx. patitur, ut Innesius habet: v. forte significat vere vel vero, nam dividitur à xxx. Secundum Tighernacum et Annal Ulton. Constantinus regnat ab A. 789 ad 819, hoc est 30 annis.

² Haud apparet. Locus forsán interpolatus.

78. Dunevaldus, frater ejus, tenuit idem regnum quatuor annis. In hujus tempore jura, ac leges regni, Edi filii Ecdach, fecerunt Goedeli cum rege suo in Fothiurthabaicht. Obiit in palacio suo Belachoir, Id. April.

79. Constantinus fil. Cinadi regnavit annis xvi. Primo ejus anno Mael Sechnaill, rex Hybernensium, obiit; et Aed fil. Niel tenuit regnum. Et post duos annos vastavit Amlaib, cum gentibus suis, Pictaviam, et habitantes eam, a kal. Januar. usque ad festum S. Patricii. Tertio iterum anno Amlaib, trahens cetum,¹ a Constantino occisus est. Paulo post ab eo² bello, in xiv. ejus facto, in Dolair inter Danarios et Scottos, occisi Scotti in Coachcochlam. Normanni annum integrum degerunt in Pictavia.

80. Edus tenuit idem uno anno. Ejus autem brevitatis nil historiae memoriae commendavit: sed in civitate Uturim est occisus.

81. Eochodius autem, filius Ku regis Britannorum, nepos Cinadei ex filia, regn. an. xi. Licet Ciricius fil. alii dicunt hic regnasse; eo quod alumnus, ordinatorque, Eochodio fiebat. Cujus secundo anno Aed fil. Niel moritur. Ac in nono anno, ipso die Cirici eclipsis solis facta est. Eochodius, cum alumno suo, expulsus est nunc de regno.

82. Donivaldus fil. Constantini tenuit regnum xi. annis. Normanni tunc vastaverunt Pictaviam. In hujus regno bellum autem factum in Vifidcollan, inter Danarios et Scottos: Scotti habuerunt victoriam. Opidum Fother occisum est a gentibus.

83. Constantinus fil. Edii tenuit regnum xl. annis. Cujus tertio anno Normanni praedaverunt Duncalden, omnemque Albaniam. In sequenti utique anno occisi sunt in Fraith heremi Normanni. Ac in vi. an. Constantinus rex, et Cellachus episcopus, leges, disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum, evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis, in

¹ Phrasis Hibernica: *colligens exercitum*.

² Locus corruptus.

Colle Credulitatis, prope regali civitate Scoan, devoverunt custodiri. Ab hoc die collis hoc meruit nomen, i. e. Collis Credulitatis. Et in suo viii. anno cecidit excelsissimus rex Hybernensium, et archiepiscopus, apud Laignechos, i. Cormace filius Culenán. Et mortui sunt, in tempore hujus, Dovenaldus rex Britanorum, et Dovenaldus filius Ed rex eligitur;¹ et Flanu filius Mael Sethnail, et Niall fil. Ede, qui regnavit iii. annos post Flanu, &c. Bellum Tinemore factum est, in xviii. anno, inter Constantinum et Regnall: et Scotti habuerunt victoriam. Et bellum Dunbrunde, in xxxiv. ejus anno; ubi cecidit filius Constantini. Et post unum annum mortuus est Dubucan, fil. Indrechtaig, Mormair Oengusa. Adelstan fil. Advar, rig Saxan;² et Eochaid fil. Alpin; mortui sunt. Et in senectute decrepitus [R. Constantinus] baculum cepit, et Domino servivit: et regnum mandavit Mael filio Domnail.

84. Maelcolaim fil. Domnail xi. an. regn. Cum exercitu suo Maelcolaim perexit in Moreb, et occidit Celach. In vii. anno regni sui prædavit Anglos ad annum Thesis; et multitudinem rapuit hominum, et multa armenta pecorum: quam prædam vocaverunt Scotti prædam Albidosorum, i. e. Nauudisi. Alii autem dicunt Constantinum fecisse hanc prædam, quærens a rege, i. Maelcolaim, regnum dari sibi ad tempus hebdomadis, ut visitaret Anglos. Verumtamen non Maelcolam fecit hanc prædam, sed instigavit eum Constantinus, ut dixi. Mortuus est autem Constantinus in x. ejus anno, sub corona pænitenti, in senectute bona. Et occiderunt viri na³ Moerne Malcolaim in Fodresach, i. in Claideom.

85. Indulfus tenuit regnum octo annis. In hujus tempore oppidum Eden vacuatum est, ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem. Classi Somarlidiorum occisi sunt in Bucham.

¹ MS. elig.

² Phrasis Hibernica, rex Saxonum.

³ Vox Hibernica, de.

86. Niger fil. Maelcolaim regn. quinque annis. Fothach episcopus pausavit, [Bellum] inter Niger et Caniculum,¹ super Dorsum Crup, in quo Niger habuit victoriam : ubi cecidit Duchad Abbas Duncalden, et Dubdou Satrapas Athochlach. Expulsus Niger de regno, et tenuit Caniculus brevi tempore. Donnall fil. Canill mortuus est.

87. Culen Ring quinque annis regn. Marcan fil. Breodalaig occisus est in ecclesia S. Michaelis. Leot et Sluagadach exierunt ad Romam. Maelbrigd episcopus pausavit; Cellach fil. Ferdalaig regnavit. Maelbrigde fil. Dubican obiit. Culen, et frater ejus Eochodius, occisi sunt a Britonibus.

88. Cinadius fil. Maelcolami regn. an. Statim prædavit Britanniam : ex parte pedestres Cinadi occisi sunt maxima cæde in Moni Vacornar. Scotti prædaverunt Saxoniam ad Stammoir, et ad Cluiam, et ad Stang na Deram. Cinadius autem vallavit ripas vadorum Forthin. Primo² anno perexit Cinadius, et prædavit Saxoniam, et traduxit filium regis Saxonum. Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino.

¹ Niger Hibernicè *Duff*: Caniculus, *Culen*.

² Sic. forte proximo.

NUMBER XII. *On the Devotion of St Andrew among the*
Piks. From the same MS. fol. r. 31.

Qualiter acciderit quod memoria Sancti Andreae Apostoli
 amplius in Regione Pictorum, quæ nunc Scotia dicitur,
 quam in cæteris regionibus sit: et quomodo contigerit
 quod tantæ abbatia ibi factæ antiquitus fuerint, quas multi
 adhuc seculares viri jure hæreditario possident.

ANDREAS, qui interpretatur, secundum Hebream Ethimo-
 logiam,¹ Decoris sive Respondens, sermone enim Græco, a
 viro, Virilis interpretatur, germanus beati Petri Apostoli,
 choeres autem ejus gratiæ; secundum Joannem Evangelis-
 tam primus Apostolus a Christo Jhesu Domino nostro elec-
 tus; secundum vero Matheum, Marcumque, secundus. Hic
 sorte prædicationis aquilones nationes Cithias,² Pictones-
 que; postreme Achaidas, ipsamque civitatem nomine Patras,
 accepit. In qua etiam cruci suspensus est, 11. Kalendarum
 Descimbrium, ibique obcubuit. Et in qua custodita sunt ossa
 illius, usque ad tempus Constantini Magni, filii Helenæ,
 atque filiorum ejus Constantini cum Constante; quasi spatio
 cclxxv annorum. In quorum regno a Constantinopoli-
 tanis, miro famosoque ductu, inde suscepta, atque translata
 sunt Constantinopolim; et cum magna gloria et maximo ho-
 nore ibidem recondita sunt: et manserunt semper usque ad
 tempus Theodotionis, Christiani Imperatoris, spatio scilicet
 cx annorum.

Tunc divino instinctu Rex Pictorum, nomine Ungus filius
 Urguist, cum exercitu magno consurgens, Britannicas na-
 tiones dexteram³ ejus insulæ inhabitantes, crudelissima vas-
 tatione interficiens, postremo pervenit usque ad Campum
 Merc, illic hiemavit. Eo tempore omnes pene totius insulæ
 gentes, unanimo impetu venientes, circumdederunt eum, vo-
 lentes cum exercitu suo penitus delere. Altera autem die
 evenit Regi prædicto, cum septem comitibus amicissimis,
 ambulare: et circumfulsit eos divina lux; et proni in facies
 suas, non valentes eam sustinere, ceciderunt in terram. Et

¹ Orthographia MS. servatur.

³ Partem australem.

² Scythas.

ecce vox de cœlo audita est : “ Ungus, Ungus, audi me Apostolum Christi, Andream nomine, qui missus sum ad te defendendum, atque custodiendum. Scilicet vide signum crucis Christi, quod stat in aiere, atque procedat contra inimicos tuos. Verumptamen decimam partem hæreditatis tuæ, et elemosinam Deo omnipotenti, et in honore Sancti Andreæ ejus, offer.”

Tertia autem die, divina voce ammonitus, suum exercitum in XII turmas divisit : et signum crucis unamquamque partem præcedebat ; lux autem divina de uniuscujusque signi capite fulgebat. Tunc victores facti, Deo omnipotenti, atque Sancto Andreæ Apostolo, gratias egerunt. Patriam autem venientes incolumes, decimam suæ hereditatis partem Deo, et Sancto Andreæ Apostolo venerabili, volentes offerre, implendo quod scriptum est, Date elemosinam, et omnia munda sunt vobis. Incertum vero habebant in quo loco specialiter vectigalem Deo, principalem civitatem Sancto Andreo Apostolo, ordinarent.

Tunc, inito concilio, binis, ternis, quatruiduanis, diebus, jejunantes ; atque Dei omnipotentis misericordiam postulantes ; unus custodientium corpus Sancti Andreæ Apostoli Constantinopoli, visione divina et revelatione ammonitus atque instructus est, dicente ; “ Exi de terra tua, et de cognatione tua, et de domo tua, et vade in terram quam monstravero tibi.” Tunc venit, Angelo comitante, atque viam illius custodiente.

Prosperè pervenit ad verticem Montis Regis, id est Rigmond. Eadem autem hora, qua illic lassus sederet cum suis septem comitibus, lux circumfulsit divina Regem Pictorum, venientem cum suo exercitu ad specialem locum, qui dicitur Kartenau ; et claritatem non ferentes ceciderunt in facies suas. Et sanati sunt claudi, et cæci, numero septem ; et unus a nativitate cæcus illuminatus est. Et inde vidit locum plenum visitatione angelorum. Postremo Dei ordinatione Rex, cum suo exercitu, venit ad locum, quem Dominus illo cæco qui illuminatus fuerat ostendit.

Regulus vero monachus, a Constantinopolitana urbe peregrinus, Regi obviavit, cum reliquiis Sancti Andreæ Apostoli, quas secum hinc huc adduxerat, ad portam quæ dicitur Matha, id est Mordurus. Salutaverunt se invicem cives et hospites ; atque tentoria ibi fixerunt, ubi nunc est aula Regia. Rex vero Ungus hunc locum, et hanc civitatem, Deo Omnipotenti, Sanctoque Andreæ Apostolo, ea semper libertate

dedit, ut sit caput et mater omnium ecclesiarum, quæ sunt in regno Pictorum. Ad istam enim civitatem conveniunt peregrini palmarii de Jerusalem, Romani, Græci, Armenii, Theutonii, Almanni, Saxones, Daci, Gallicani, Galli, Anglici, Britones; viri et fœminæ; divites et pauperes; sani corpore et ægri; claudi; cæci. In equis et curribus debiles huc deferuntur; atque per Dei misericordias, ad honorem et gloriam sui summi Sancti Apostoli Andreæ, infestissime curantur. Virtutes, et signa, et innumerabilia prodigia, per ipsum sanctum Apostolum Andream, Dominus fecit hîc, facit, et facturus est, quæ hîc non possint scribi. Regulus vero abbas, atque monachus, cum suis charis comitibus, habitavit in loco isto, in monachica vita; serviens Deo, die ac nocte, in sanctitate et justitia, cunctis diebus vitæ suæ. Quorum corpora hîc requiescunt.

ISTE Regulus tertiam partem tocius Scotiæ in manu sua, et potestate habuit, et per Abbatias ordinavit atque distribuit. Patria illa siquidem Pictis, Scottis, Dacis, Norvagensibus, ceterisque qui ad vastandum insulam applicuerant, situ locorum, amenitatisque, paverat.¹ Et si aliquando refugii opus fuisset, tutum receptaculum eis semper præstabat; et sese infra eam quasi in propria castra receperunt.²

¹ forte placuerat.

² Talis est prima et rudis delineatio fabulæ de Regulo. Vide Excerpta Reg. St And.

NUMBER XIII. Versus de præstantia Regni Scotorum, (or rather a pretended Prophecy concerning the Welch and Scots, written about 1310.) From the same MS. fol. 9. v.

REGNUM Scotorum fuit, inter cætera regna
Terrarum, quondam nobile, forte, potens.
Reges magnifici, Bruti de stirpe, regebant
Fortiter, egregiè, Scotica regna prius.
Ex Albanacto, trinepote potentis Eneæ,
Dicitur Albania : littera prisca probat.
A Scota, nata Pharaonis regis Egypti,
Ut veteres tradunt, Scotia nomen habet.
Post Britones, Danaos, Pictos, Dacosque, repulso
Nobiliter Scoti jus tenere suum.

Facta ducis celebris, super omnia, Scotia flebit ;
Qui loca septa salo junget ubique sibi.
Principe magnifico tellus viduata vacabit ;
Annis bis ternis, mensibus atque novem.
Antiquos reges, justos, largos, locupletes,
Formosos, fortes, Scotia mœsta luget.
Ut Verilinus ait, post reges victoriosos,
Regis more carens, regia sceptrum foret.
Serviet Angligeno regi per tempora quondam,
(Proh dolor !) Albania ; fraude subacta sua.
Quod respirabit, post funus regis avari,
Versibus antiquis prisca Sibylla canit.
Rex Borealis enim, numerosa classe potitus,
Affliget Scotos ense, furore, fame :
Extera gens tandem Scotorum fraude peribit ;
In bello princeps Noricus ille cadet.
Gallia quem gignit, qui gazis regna replebit,
O dolor ! O gemitus ! primus ab ense cadet.
Candidus Albanus, patriotis causa ruinæ,
Traditione sua Scotica regna premet.
Posteritas Bruti, Albanis associata,
Anglica regna premet morte, labore, fame.
Quem Britonum fundet Albani juncta juvenus ;
Sanguine Saxonico tincta rubebit humus.

Flumina manabunt, hostili tincta cruore
 Perfida gens omni lite subacta ruet.
 Regnabunt Britones, Albani gentis amici;
 Antiquum nomen insula tota feret.
 Ut aquila profert, veteri de turre locata,
 Cum Scotis Britones regna paterna regent.
 Regnabunt pariter, in prosperitate quieta,
 Hostibus expulsis, Judicis usque diem.
 Historiæ veteris Gildas luculentus orator,
 Quem retulit, parvo carmine plura notans:
 MENS, cor, cur capiunt; lex Christi vera jocunda,
 Primam cunctorum tibi dat formam futurorum.
 Draco draconem rubens album superabit;
 Anglorum nomen tollet; rubei renovabit.

Solis in occasu leopardi viscera frigent;
 Vertices et cerebrum Cambria tollet ei.
 Quo duce sublato, tria ovantia regna peribunt,
 Saxoniae soboli lilia frena dabunt.
 Virtus Germanici leopardi tincta veneno
 Lilia vincendi fugere presto cadet.
 Euphrates, et Tigris, Forth rever, * atque Nilus,
 Per mundi metas lilia subtus erunt.

* foxth reū. MS.

NUMBER XIV. *The Origin of the Píks; extracted from the
Book of Ballymote.*

EGO Nennius Elvodugi discipuls a ñ discerpta scribere curavi, i. e. Ro deithnigiusa coro scribaid airoile dolo martha, & me Nennius deascupal Elvodaigh daigh rodramaid beas & aenach na nam Brethnac seanchasa & buanda na ceat daine conafileadh ifáitne iscribea-naib na leabrib misi ñ ro coimthinoilius na seancusa in analtaib na Román & ic croinicib na srutha naem, i. e. es Suidir (Suidas) & Cirine & Eusebius & ahanaaltaib Gaedil & anafuarus athidhnacul arnairsata de bunadh Crutneach and seo.

Cruithne.

mc Cinge.

mc Luctai.

mc Partolan.

mc Agnoin.

mc Mais

mc Fathecht.

mc Jafet.

mc Noe.

Ise athair Cruitneach & cet bla do irrighe.

Secht mic Cruithneach an so i. e. Fib. Fi-

dach. Fodla-fortreand. Cathac. Cait. Ce.

Cirig. agus secht randaib ro roindset in fearann *ut dixit* Colum Cilli :

Moirseisir do Cruithne clainn

Randset Albain i secht rainn.

Cait, Ce, Cirigh, Ceathac, clann,

Fib, Fidach, Fotla fortreand.

Acus ise ainm gac fir dib.

Fib 34 b̄ta irrigē.

Fidach 40. Bruide pont

Fortreand 70 b̄t Urpont.

Cait 2 b̄ta ar xx Uleo.

Cirig 80 b̄t B. gant.

Ce 12 b̄t. B. uleo.

Aenbeccann iṁ B. urgant.

Caith 30 b. B. gnith.

Finecta 60 bl. B. urnith.

Guidid gad bre B. feth 1. Geis. 1bl.

B. urfeichir geast ġid 40 b. B. cal.

Urgeas 30 bl. B. Urcal.

Bruide pont 30. B. cint ri Uladh. 51 Urcint dedb̄tea fri B fet, gach fir dib, & B. urfeth randa na fearann B. ruaile ro gabsadar 50. *ut est* illeabraib na Cruithneach. Bruide ero. B. gart B. Urgart. B. cind. B. urcind. B. uip. B. uruip. B. grith. B. urgrith. B. muin, B. urmuin.

Britannia insola, a Britone filio Isicon d̄ca est (*dicta est*) i. e. Briton mc Isicon ro ain̄igheadh. 1. ṁ. c. consul ro bai ir Romanaib Ailbion ro be c. aim idsi Breatain da c. mile alleithi. Ocht p̄m cathraca 20 indti & isiatso sis. Caer Goirthighirnd Caer Gutais, &c. &c. &c.

de Cruithneacaib incipit.

A tir Tracia tangadar Cruithnigh. 1. Clanda Geleoin m̄c Ercoil iad. Agathyrsi anam̄anda. Seisur brathar tangadar toiseac. 1. Solen. Ulsa. Neachtan. Drostan. Aengus. Letcind.

Fatha-a-tiactana. 1. Policornus ri Tragia do rad gradh da siar, co ro triall abreth gan togra. Lodar carsin tar Romanchu co Frangcu & cumtaigit cathar an. 1. Pictavis a pictis 1. an armtaib. Acus do rac ri F̄ngcu gradh dia siar. Lodar fommuir iarneg in tseiseadh brathar. 1. Letcind. Ic and dalaa iarndul

formuir at bath a siur, gabsat Cruitnigh inb. Slaine im Uib Ceinnselaigh.

Atbt riu Creamthand Sciathbal Ri Laighen do bad failti doib ar dichur Tuaithe fidhbha. Adbt Drostan Drui Cruitneac 1. Bleogan. sechtfighit bo find do dhortugh maile is fearfaidh im cath do ronadh indi sin, & do ronadh im cath doib. 1. Cath arda leamnacta im Uib Ceindsellagh, gac aen no ghontis, no laighed isin leamnact, ni cumgadh a neimh ni doneocaib.

Romarbtha dam iartain Tuatha fidhbha. Mairbceathra do Cruitneacaib carsin Drostan, Solen, Neactan, Ulfa. Gabais gub & amc. 1. Cathluan neart mor an Ern go ionarbar Erimoin. & go tarda mna na fear ro baitea immaille fond doib. 1. ma bresse, & buamaisse. &c. &c. Anais seis dib os Breagmaigh. Is uadibh gac geiss, gac sen, gac freod, & gotha en & gac mna. Cathluan ba aird-ri orro uile & ise c. ri rogabh dib an Albain. Lxx righdibh f Albain o Cathluan gu Constantin & ise Cruithneac deidhenac. Ro scab damc. 1. Catinolodor & Catinolocan imda curadh. Lin mc Pirn & Cind athair Cruthne. Crus me Cirigh, amilid Uaisnem afileid, Cruithne a ceard. Domnal mc Ailpin, ise toiseac go ro marb Britus indsi Isicon. Clanna Neimidh ro gabsat iarm Britus. 1. iarglun. Cruithne ro gabsat iarsin iarteact doib a Heirinn. Gaedil im ro gabsat iarsin. 1. mc Eirc mc Eacadach.

TRANSLATION.¹

I Nennius, disciple of Elvodug, from whom I have carefully made the following extracts; viz. the origin and manners of the ancient Britons, supported by the best authority. I H.² well skilled in the antiquities and annals of the Romans, and in the chronicles of pure authors, viz. Suidir, Cirin Eusebius; and in the Irish annals; and I find sufficient evidence for the origin of the Cruitne, in manner following, viz. Cruitne son of Cinge. S. Luctai, S. Partolan, S. Agnoin, S. Mais, S. Fathecht, son of Japhet, son of Noah.

He was the father of the Cruitne, and ruled 100 years.

Cruitne had seven sons, viz. Fib, Fideach, Fodlafortreand, Cathac, Cait, Ce, Cirig; and they divided the kingdom into seven parts, as says Colum Kill.

The seven sons of Cruitne, into seven parts divided Alban; Cait, Ce, Cirigh, Ceathec, Fib, Fideach, Fotlafortreand. And these are their names (*and reigns.*)

Fib 34 years kings

Fidach 40 Brude pont (&c. *see original.*)

Brude pont 30 years, &c. &c. &c. Bruide Cint K. of Ulster, 51 years. Urcint made war on Bruidefeth and destroyed every one of the Clann, and Bruide Urfeth divided the land. Bruide Ruaile ruled 50 years, as in the books of the Cruitne, &c. &c.

The island of Briton was so called from Briton, son of Isicon, viz. in the first consulship of the Romans; its first name was Albion; it is 200 miles in breadth, and contains

¹ This piece from the Book of Ballymote, written in the 14th or 15th century, is partly copied from the *Chronicon Pictorum*, but corrupted with errors and gross fable. The name of Nennius is used by the weak forger of it, to give it more authority. It is a good specimen of Irish fabulous history: and as it makes the Piks proceed from Ireland to North Britain, in opposition to all ancient authorities, it is no wonder that the Irish fabulists should insist that the modern Scots (who are the same people antiently called Piks) came from Ireland.

² Say N. that is, Nennius.

28 chief cities, viz. Caer-Goirthighernd, Caer-Gutais, &c. &c. &c.

Here begins the history of the Cruitne.

The Cruitne came from Thrace; they were the sons or clann of Gelon of Hercules: they were called Agathyrsi. Six brothers came over chiefs or leaders; viz. Solen, Ulfa, Neachtan, Drostan, Aengus, Letcind.

Fatha-atiactana, alias Policornus, king of Thrace, fell in love with their sister, and endeavoured to seduce her, without settling a dowry on her. Then they passed through the (country of the) Romans to that of the Franks, and there built a city, viz. Pictavis, so called from Pictis, that is, a kind of arms or weapons. And the king of the Franks fell in love with their sister. Then the sixth brother Letcind, dying, they roamed about the seas, and it so happened that the sister dying on shipboard, the Cruitne made for Inver-Slaine in Hy-Kinsillagh (in Leinster.)

Creamthan Sciathbal king of Leinster told them, they should be welcome, provided they would free him of the *tribe* widows. Drostan, alias Bleogan, a priest or Druid of the Cruitne, replied, to-morrow at the rising of the sun (the milk of) seven score white cows shall be spilt; this occasioned an engagement, and they fought the battle of Arda leam-nacta in Hy-Kinsilligh; where not one escaped being wounded or speared, receiving no support from their horses or
* * * *

Then all the widows died: after that died Drostan, Solen, Neachtan, Ulfa of the Cruitne.

Cathluan began to gather great strength and power in Ireland, till he was expelled by Erimon, who gave his people women and land; and they settled in Breagmaigh: they were in want of order or distinction; had neither spears (for hunting) nets (for fowling) nor women.

Cathluan was chief over all; and he first led them to Alban.

LXX kings over Alban, from Cathluan to Constantine; and he was the last of the Cruitimian (kings.) He left two sons, Catinolodar and Catinolocan, both in great distress. Lin, son of Pirn, and Cind Athair Cruitne, Crus mc Cirigh, Uaisneim the File, Cruitne the mechanic. Donald mc Alpin was chief when Britus, son of Isicon, died. The Clanna Neimid ruled after Britus, (i. e. his descendants.) The Cruitne

ruled next, coming from Ireland. The Gaedhal came next, viz. mc Eirc mc Eacadach.¹

¹ In another Irish poem in the Book of Ballymote, which seems to be a transcript of Nennius put into Irish verse, it is said

Agatyrsi anamann, amrann Ercbhi
Ocearptar dia cuctli adbtar iad Picti.

"They were called Agathyrsi, and from a kind of slaughtering weapon they were called Picti." *Translator.*

NUMBER XV. *Pikish Kings, from Lynche's Cambrensis Eversus, London, 1662, fol. p. 93.*

IN Hibernica Nennii versione, penes me, catalogus est Regum Pictorum, cujus partem hic exhibeo; ut lectori constat vel diversos ejusdem nominis reges Pictis et Scotis imperasse, vel quod ego contendo Scotos Pictorum reges sibi arrogasse.

Brudeus filius Melchon (cujus nono regni S. Columbam in Britanniam venisse Beda scribit,) regnavit annis 30. Garnad filius Domnach 11. Neckan nepos Verp 20. Kenethus filius Luthrin 19. Garnaid filius Vaid 7. Brudeus filius Vaid 5. Tolore frater eorum 12. Talorcan filius Enfret 4. Gornad filius Donel 6 et dimidio an. Druse frater ejus 7. Brudeus filius Fili 20. Taran filius Enfidi 4. Breitet filius Derilei 11. Nectonus filius Derilei 10. Drestus et Alpinus conregnauerunt 5. Onuis fil. Urgust 30. Brete fil. Urgust 15. Kenethus fil. Viredeg 12. Alpinus filius Vrod 3. et dimidio an. Drest fil. Tolorcen 11. Tolorcen fil. Drusten 5 vel 15. Tolercen fil. Uniust 12. et dimidio. Canul fil. Tang 5. Cuastain fil Urgust 35. Vidanist fil. Urgust 12. Drest fil. Constantin et Talorgus fil. Uthol conregnauerunt 3. Unen fil. Unust 3. Urard fil. Bargot 3. Bread 1. Kenethus fil. Alpini 16. Domhnal fil. Alpini 4. Constantinus fil. Aedi 45. Moelcolumb fil. Domnalli 9. Culen fil. Ildolbh fili Constantini 4. Kenethus fil. Moelcolumb 24. Constantin fil. Culen uno et medio anno. Kenethus filius Dubh 8. Moelcolumb fil. Keneti 30. Donatus nepos vel filius Moelcolumbi 6. Macleathad fil. Finlaigh 16. Luboch quinque menses. Moelcolumb fil. Donati postea.

NUMBER XVI. *Commentary on an obscure Passage in the Chronicon Rhythmicum.*

THE *Chronicon Rhythmicum*, to be found at the end of many MSS. of Fordun, has the following passage, concerning the time when the Piks and Scots settled in Britain.

Quod jam promisi, tempus sic ecce relisi;
 Bis bis centeno, quater endeca, sed minus uno
 Anno, quo sumpsit primos Ergadia Scotos,
 Ut referunt isti, fuit incarnatio Christi.
 Annorum summa, Pictis præoccupatorum,
 Hic dat Scotorum, deca quinque centibinorum,
 Et annos quindecim; tres menses jungito quidem.
 Tunc Scoti quærunť quot anni præterierunt,
 Postquam vicerunt Pictos, qui tunc coluerunt
 Albaniam, citro Drumalban, sed minus ultra.
 Ut Scoti valeant memoratum tempus habere,
 Par Scotiam totam quo ceperunt residere
 [Qui Picti terram rexere mille ducentis,
 Et pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis,
 Ut verum renovem, mensibus atque novem.]
 Pictis amotis, datur hæc responsio Scotis:
 D. semel et ter C.; post X. ter; et X. quater inde;
 Istorum numeri monstrant quo tempore Christi,
 Sed trans Dun-Alban, coepit regnare Kenedus.

* * *

Sed cum septenis Kened regnaverat annis,
 * * *

Ex tunc Albanix regnum totale regebat.

Before commenting on this obscure passage, it will be proper to offer a few remarks on the ideas of some other old Scottish writers relating to this subject.

Innes has observed, in his critical Essay, that after the year 1301, when the dispute with Edward I. arose, we first find the Scottish writers claiming a priority of settlement, for the Irish Scots, over the Piks.

Baldred Bisset, in his Memorial to the Pope, 1301, asserts wildly, that the Scots had thirty-six catholic kings before the English were converted.

A writer in Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, IV. 10, says the Scots had twenty-three kings, before the Piks came into Britain; which, by his account, was about 200 years before Christ.

The letter of the Scottish nobility to the pope, 1320, says that Robert Bruce was the 113th king of Scots. But this number, as appears from Innes, p. 712, extends from Simon Brec, first king of the Scots in Ireland.

Winton, Book IV. informs us :

Four hundreth winter, and fourty,
And twa, to rekkyne evynly,
Before the blist nativitie, &c.
As in our storie written is,
Than in Scotland the Scottis
Begouth to ring, and to steir;
Twa hundreth fullie, and forty yeir,
Five winteir, and moneths thrie,
Gif that all suld rekkynit be,
Or the Peychtis into Scotland
Cam, and in it were regnand.

He also says, that when Kenneth¹ vanquished the Piks, the latter had been sovereigns of Scotland,

A thousand, ane and sixty yheres.

And, some chapters after, he dates the coming of the Piks from Scythia to Scotland,

Twa hundreth wintyr, and na mair,
Or that the madyn Marie bair.

Fordun, I. 31, says that, according to an old chronicle, the Scots came to Scotland 1543 years before Christ: the Scots reigned before the Piks 249 years, 3 months: and the Pikish kingdom lasted 1061 years: but by other accounts, 1224 years, 9 months. In book I. cap. ult. he remarks, that some accounts bore that the Scots reigned before the Piks 265 years, 3 months: others 317 years under 23 kings. In IV. 10, he repeats these remarks. But he himself allows, I. 37, that the Piks and Scots were in Britain about one and the same time.

Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Descriptio Albanix*, says, that some made the Pikish kingdom last 1070, others 1360, years.

¹ Winton gives no positive date for this event. Alpin's reign he dates 840, Kenneth's 843 (in Dalriada), Kenneth's death 859.

These observations being premised, the above obscure passage remains to be considered.

Bis bis centeno, quater endeca, sed minus uno
Anno, quo sumpsit primos Ergadia Scotos,
Ut referunt isti, fuit incarnatio Christi.

Bis bis centeno is "the twice two hundredth," that is, 400 : *quater endeca*, "four times eleven," is 44 ; *minus uno*, "less by one," leaves for the sum 443 years. After *anno* supply *a*, and the clear sense is, 443 years after the Scots arrived in Argyle was the Incarnation of Christ ; that is, the Scots came to Argyle 443 years before Christ. Winton reckons only 442, in the above passage. Fordun no where expressly marks the year when the Scots came in ; but supposes them to have been in Britain some time before Fergus I. whose reign he dates, II. 12, in the 330th year before Christ.

Annorum summa, Pictis præoccupatorum,
Hic dat Scotorum, deca quinque centibinorum,
Et annos quindecim ; tres menses jungito quidem.

Deca quinque "five tens" fifty : *centibinorum* "two hundred :" *quindecim, tres menses* ; in all 265 years 3 months, as Fordun above interprets. But Winton has 245.

Qui Picti terram rexere mille, ducentis,
Et pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis,
Ut verum renovem, mensibus atque novem.

Fordun interprets this 1224 years, 3 months.

D. semel ; et ter C. ; pest X. ter ; et X. quater inde.

seems to denote that Kenneth began to reign in Dalriada, (*sed trans Dunalban*), in 844 : and he vanquished the Piks, *septenis annis*, or seven years after, as our poem says. Fordun dates Kenneth's reign in Dalriada 834 ; Winton 843.

The first passage tells us that the Scots came to Britain 443 years before Christ. The second that they preceded the Piks 265 years, 3 months. That is, the Piks arrived 177 years, 9 months, before Christ.

The third says the Piks had ruled 1224 years, 9 months, when in 851 they were vanquished by Kenneth. It follows that the Piks began to rule 373 years, 9 months, before Christ. How can this be reconciled ? The difference is just 196 years.

And how reconcile this piece with the *Descriptio Albaniae*, which bears that some extended the duration of the Pikish kingdom to 1070; others to 1360 years? The numbers are so discordant, that it is utterly impossible to reconcile them; and if it were possible, the labour were very ill bestowed, as the different accounts are equally visionary and fantastic.

But the intention of this little comment was merely to shew, that the numbers even in this poem are irreconcilable. And the reason is, that Innes has grossly mistaken its nature. He supposes, p. 609, that all the part down to Alexander III. is written in his time; and all after by another hand. Yet in his notes on the piece itself, p. 816, when he comes to the pretended Second Part, he observes *Hartenus continentur quæ AUCTOR ex scriptis, sive priscis chronicis, desumpserat. Hic incipit describere quæ vel ipse per se, vel ex coævorum relatione, noverat: hinc addendum censuimus titulum hunc Secunda Pars.* Here we find only one author mentioned: and how he could have lived in different ages is submitted to the reader. The fact is, that he lived and wrote in the year 1447, as he tells us in his concluding lines.

This poem can only be found in the end of Fordun; and is, as the preface says, an abstract of his chronicle; or rather of the Scottish chronicle, or history, in general. It is never quoted, nor referred to, either by Fordun or Winton, though they quote the *Chronicon Elegiacum* often: so that certainly it was not written before their time. The supposed Second Part is a mere imagination of Innes. The whole is of one form and complexion. The same confused kind of verse, sometimes rhiming at the middle and end; sometimes in couplet; sometimes not rhiming at all; just as the rude composer could make it, occurs throughout.

What misled Innes is, 1. That the author, according to the Paris MS. from which Innes published this piece, says in his preface he composed it, "*scripto veteri metrico et novo ad propositum respondente*;" but the Paisley MS. reads, "*partim ex metris veteribus, partim ex recentibus ad propositum facientibus.*" Innes, following the former reading, supposes distinct parts are implied. But the second reading explains the first to mean only that the author inserted some old rhimes. Which he really has; and with wonderful address! For the three lines,

Qui Picti terram rexere mille, ducentis,

Et pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis,
Ut verum renovem; mensibus atque novem.

are taken literatim from Fordun, who quotes them, I. 31. And our sagacious poetaster breaks a chasm for them, between two lines so closely connected, as not even to admit a comma; and without once perceiving that they totally confute what he had just said. At same time these *three* lines, and a few marked by Innes as interpolated, p. 813, are the only ones in the whole poem to be found quoted in Fordun, or any where else before 1447; and it is clear that Fordun did not take them from this poem, but the poem from Fordun.

2. The grand reason, which induced Innes to infer that this poem is more ancient than Fordun, was, that the list of our early kings, to be found in it, differs from Fordun's new scheme; and is consonant with our old chronicles; for it omits all Fordun's fictitious monarchs, beginning only at Fergus son of Erc, and passing over Fordun's interpolated kings. As the author calls his poem an abstract of Fordun, this is indeed surprising. But as he has confessedly told us one falsehood, in calling his poem an abstract of a writer whom he contradicts; so we know not where, or how, to believe him, for he who deceives us in one instance, may in others. Innes also falls into another contradiction, when he supposes the first part of this piece written in the time of Alexander III. yet says that the idea of the Scots being in Britain before the Piks, was adopted after his reign, while this very poem asserts the Scots to have been in Britain before the Piks. That there are some scraps in this misbegotten piece, older than 1447, seems clear; but there is no reason to infer that there is a line in it written before 1320. And it was in 1447 so altered and interpolated, that no more reliance can be placed on it than if it were wholly written at that time. So that it cannot be ranked as an early, or authentic, monument of our history.

Innes was anxious for proofs that Fergus son of Erc, and not the fabulous Fergus I. was really first king of the Scots in Dalriada. This is sufficiently clear from the other two ancient catalogues of our kings, produced by him, and from the Irish Annals; so that there was no occasion to give this piece of mock antiquity to enforce the truth. And as this truth is now allowed on all hands, it is of no moment that the *Chronicon Rhythmicum* should be received in the new point of view in

which Innes has placed it. There seems little doubt, from the similar manner of marking the numerals, down to the very end, 1447, that the list of early monarchs is not an old fragment, but really written in 1447. It indeed differs from Fordun, but we are not to conceive that Fordun's new scheme was universally received; and perhaps this difference was owing merely to the indolence of the author, who, instead of turning over Fordun's vast mass for the little scraps concerning our early kings, found it easier to take one of the short catalogues ready made to his hands, and turn it into verse.

These remarks are here given, because had this piece been a real monument of our early history, it would have been proper to have considered it in Part III. ch. 4, of this work, concerning the epoch of the Pictish settlement in Britain.

NUMBER XVII. *Instrumentum possessionum Ecclesiæ Glas-*
*cuensis.*¹ [circa A. 1118.]

IGITUR quandoquidem predecessorum instituta mortalium literarum ostentatione, et scribarum deliberatione, ad memoriam revocantur, nos Cumbrensiū quædam gesta nobilium presentibus apicibus memoriæ commendamus. In Cumbria itaque, regione quadam inter Angliam et Scotiam sita, fide Catholica in illis climatibus exuberante ac propagante, domestici filii, ac proceres regni, cum rege provinciæ cooperante, in honore Dei, et Sanctæ Mariæ piæ genetricis, Ecclesiam Glasguensem, sedem scilicet Pontificalem Cumbrensis Regionis, fundaverunt; et dignis sanctionibus, pro pristina sanctorum religione patrum, solidaverunt. Hæc vero pulchris initialibus, et ecclesiasticis institutionibus, sanctæ quoque fidei rudimentis, inolevit; et dispositione divina Sanctum Kentigernum in episcopum admisit, qui celestis affluentia doctrinæ fidentibus propinaret; et cibum spiritualem, ut fidelis dispensator, esurientibus ministraret. Verum enimvero fraudulentus exterminator supradictam ecclesiam diu inviolabiliter constare ingemiscens, consuetis versutiis suis, post multa temporum curricula, scandala intolerabilia Cumbrensiū ecclesiæ machinavit. Dicto namque Kentigerno pluribus successoribus, sub piæ religionis perseverantia, ad Dominum transmigratis, diversæ seditiones circumquaque insurgentes, non solum ecclesiam, et ejus possessiones, destruxerunt; verum etiam totam regionem vastantes, ejus habitatores exilio tradiderunt. Sic ergo omnibus bonis exterminatis, magnis temporum intervallis transactis, diversæ tribus diversarum nationum, ex diversis partibus affluentes, desertam regionem præfatam habitaverunt; sed dispari gente, et dissimili lingua, et vario more viventes; haud facile sese consentientes, Gentilitatem potius quam Fidei Cultum tenuerunt. Quos infelices damnatæ habitationis habitatores, more pecu-

¹ From the Appendix to Sir James Dalrymple's Collections, compared with that in the Appendix to Gibson's History of Glasgow, published from a copy of the Chartulary, in the library of Glasgow University.

dum irrationabiliter degentes, dignatus est Dominus, qui neminem vult perire, propitiatione sua visitare: tempore nimirum Henrici Regis Angliæ, Alexandro Scotorum rege in Scotia regnante, misit iis Deus David predicti regis Scotiæ germanum, in Principem et Ducem, qui eorum impudica et scelerata contagia corrigeret; et animi nobilitate, et inflexibili severitate, contumeliosam eorum contumaciam refrenaret. Hic nempe bene vivendi studio fervidus, prophanæ multitudinis miseriæ condolens, ut pastoralis sollicitudine, qua diutius caruerunt, eorum opprobria deleret, Divino instigatus hortamine, Joannem quendam religiosum virum, qui eum educaverat, vitamque ejus Deo non imbeciliter devotum noverat, consilio peritorum, clericorumque suorum auxilio, in Episcopum elegit. Sed cum Episcopus cognita infelicitis populi feritate, et abhominabili vitiorum multiplicitate, utpote perterritus, Hierusalem proficisci disposuisset, ab Apostolico Paschali,¹ licet invitus, consecratus, officium susceptæ sollicitudinis nullatenus differre voluit; sed cum gaudio, sub plebis alacritate, a principe, et a proceribus regni receptus verbum predicationis, Spiritu Sancto largissime operante, per Cumbrensem parochiam diffudit. David vero Cumbrensis regionis princeps, amore præcipue Dei, partim quoque religionis dilectione et admonitione, terras Ecclesiæ Glasguensi pertinentes, singulis Cumbriæ provinciis quæ sub dominio et potestate ejus erant, non enim toti Cumbrensi regioni dominabatur, inquirere fecit; ut avidus ipsius ecclesiæ restorationis, possessionum earum, quas antiquitus tenuerat, posteris et sequacibus suis certitudinem relinqueret. Has vero auxilio et investigatione seniorum hominum et sapientiorum totius Cumbriæ, pro posse suo, investigavit; quæ inferius subscribuntur:² Carlemen, Cavicas, Cavicatlethein, Lengartheyn, Patelanthe, Conclut, Pamichel, Stobetis, Pentejacob, Alnecromha, Kenecoun, Lilescliva, Aschecheyrc, Hodelm, Edingaheyin, Abermelio, Drinisdal, Colchtaim, Kenercroid,

¹ Papa II. A. D. 1115. *Keith*.

² In Gibson's copy the lands are: "Carlevien, Camcau, Camcatheyn, Lengartheyn, Pathel, Asserhe, Canclut, [Chefernenuat, Carnetheyn, Carvil, Quendal, Abercarf, Meeheyn,] Planmichel, Stobo, Pentiacob, Alnerumba, Keveronum, Lilleseliva, Hodelm, Edyngahum, Abermele, Drivesdale, Colchtam, Kevertrole, Aschib, Brumesheyd, Keversgyrt; in Peblis una carruc. terræ et ecclesia; in Kincayrd una car. et ecclesiæ; in Mereboda una car. et ecclesia." Sir James has surely omitted a line: in *G. Aschecheyrc* is wanting.

Aschebi, Brumerhede, Kenergilt. Lii Peebles una carrucata terræ et ecclesia. Lii Kenegryd una acra et ecclesia. Lii Mereboda una carrucata et ecclesia. Has terras juraverunt fore pertinentes ecclesiæ Glasguensi rogatu et imperio predicti principis Uchtrede filius Waldef, Guil. filius Boed, Ley-sing et Ogga Cumbrenses iudices, Halden filius Eadulf. Hujus rei testes sunt, ut audientes et videntes, Matildis Comitissa quæ ex parte concessit sua, Willielmus nepos ipsius Principis, Cospatricius frater Delphini, Waldef frater suus, Cospatricius filius Uchtred, Cospatricius filius Alden, Osolf filius Eadmer, Maccus filius Undneyn, Uchtred filius Scot, Ulehel filius Alstan, Hugo de Morevil, Paganus de Brausa, Osber de Ardenna, Gervasius Riddel, Guido de Caynes, Berengarius Engarn, Robertus Corbitts, Walterus de Lindesaya, Robertus de Burnevilla, Renaldus Denninstans, Walterus filius Winemarii, Gulielmus Venator, Alanus de Parc, Walterus de Bron.

NUMBER XVIII. *Kings of Northumbria.**Bernicia.**Deira.*

547. Ida son of Eoppa, 12
years over both king-
doms.

559. Adda, or Odda, his son,
5.

564. Clappa 7.

571. Theodulf 1.

572. Freothulf 7.

579. Theodoric 7.

588. Æthelric 2.

These two last were
also sons of Ida;
and reigned while
Ella was king of
Deira.

593. Athelfrid 24, over both
kingdoms 14.

617. Edwin son of Ella 17 over both kingdoms. On his
death they were separated.

634. Osric son of Athelfrid.

559. Ella, another son of Ida,
30.

589. Edwin son of Ella, ex-
pelled by Athelfrid
king of Bernicia, who
ruled both k. 14 years.
Then Edwin restored.

634. Eanfred son of Athel-
frid.

Both slain in one year.

634. Oswald brother of Eanfred 9 over both kingdoms.

642. Oswi brother of Os-
wald, 9 in Bernicia.

644. Oswi son of Osric in
Deira 7: slain by Os-
wi of Bernicia.

652. Adelwalt 4.

660. Alfred, bastard son of
Oswi, is made king of
Deira by his father
10.

The Kingdoms finally united.

670. Egfrid, son of Oswi, 15.

685. Alfred, bastard son of Oswi, 19.

704. Eandulf an usurper, 2 months. *Malmsb. Gesta Pont.*
Lib. III. fol. v. 152.
704. Osred, son of Alfred, a child, 11.
715. Kenred, kinsman of Osred, 2.
717. Osric, brother of Kenred, 11.
728. Ceolwulf kinsman of Kenred, 8. To him Beda dedicates his history. He turned monk.
736. Egbert cousin german to Ceolwulf, 20. Turned monk, as many Saxon monarchs did.
756. Oswald, 1.
757. Ethelwald, surnamed Mollo, an usurper, 11.
768. Alred, 11.
779. Ethelred son of Mollo, 5.
784. Athelwold, 11.
796. Osred, 1.
Ethelred restored, 4. *Follow 40 years of civil wars.*
Eardulf.
Alfwold.
Eandred.
Ethelred.
Redulf.
840. Osbrecht.
Ella slain at York by the Danes.
860. Ricsig, a Dane.
871. Egbert, a Saxon.
Guthrun, Dane, 11.
894. Ricsig II. Dane.
903. Regnald and Nial, Danes.
914. Sihtric, a Dane.
919. Inguald, a Dane
926. Guthfert, a Dane.
Anlaf.
Anlaf II. expelled by Edmund. Restored in 944: expelled by Eadred 947.
948. Eric, last king, to 950.

*** The history of Northumbria is very obscure from the year 800; and a long dissertation would be required to adjust it.

NUMBER XIX. *Earls of Northumbria.*Bib. Cotton. Dom. D. VIII. *Various Chronicles, &c.*[De Successione Comitum Northumbrensiū post Eiricum ultimum regem. *Catal.*] Sæc. 12, vel 13.

PRIMUS comitum post EIRICUM, quem ultimum regem habuerunt Northanimbrenses, *Osulf* provincias omnes Northanymbrorum, sub EDREDO rege procuravit. Deinde, sub EADGARO rege, *Oslac* præficitur comes Eboraco, et locis ejus pertinentibus; et *Eadulf* cognomento *Yvelchild* a Teisa usque Myreford, præponitur Northymbris. Isti duo comites, cum Aelfsio, qui apud Sanctum Cuthbertum episcopus fuerat, perduxerunt KYNET regem Scottorum ad Regem EADGARUM. Qui cum illi fecisset hominum, dedit ei rex EADGARUS Lodonenum; et multo cum honore remisit ad propria. Hiis comitibus successit in comitatum *Waltheſ*, ille senior, regnante ATHELREDO. Deinde *Uctredus* filius *Walteſi*, administravit comitatum omnium Northannymbrorum provinciarum. Huic rex ATHELREDUS suam filiam *Ælgeonam* dederat uxorem; ex qua filiam habens *Aldgitham*, dedit in conjugium prædiviti cuidam *Maldredo*, filio Crinani, de qua habuit *Cospatricium* comitem, patrem Dolphini, *Walteſi*, et *Cospatrici*. Occiso autem *Uctredo* a *Turebrando* cognomine *Hold*, per voluntatem CNUTONIS regis, frater ejus *Eadulf Cudel* administravit comitatum. Et post eum *Aldred*, filius *Uctredi* præfati, quem habuerat ex filia *Alduini* episcopi, antequam duceret filiam regis ATHELREDI. Habuit etiam alios filios ex alio conjugio, *Cospatricium* et *Eadulfum*. *Cospatrici* erat filius *Uctredus*, de quo genitus est *Eadulf Rus*, qui princeps erat et autor illorum qui interfecerunt *Walcherum* episcopum. Interfecto vero *Aldredo* comite a *Carl*, cujus prænomen, scilicet *Turebrandum* prædictum, ipse *Aldredus* occiderat in ultionem sui patris *Uctredi*

Comitis, ab ipso Turebrando interfecti, successit illi frater suus junior *Eadulfus*. Qui postmodum, regnante *ÆDWARD*O, occisus est a *Siwardo*; qui, post illum, totius Northanimbro-
rum comitatum, HOC EST AB HUMBRA USQUE TUVEODAM, suscepit comitatum. Mortuo autem *Siwardo* rex *ÆDUVAR-*
DUS comitatum tradidit *Tostio*, fratri *Haroldi* regis. De-
hinc ipso *Tostio*, ab universis sui comitatus, propter nimiam
ejus violentiam, projecto de comitatu, et exlegato, *Eduvinus*
et *Morkarus*, quibus rex *EDUWARDUS* comitatus ipsius curam
delegaverat, filio *Eadulfi* comitis fratris *Aldredi* comitis, no-
mine *Osulfo*, Comitatum A *TINA* USQUE *TUVEDAM*¹ com-
miserunt. Sed postea *Copsi*, a *WILLIELMO* rege suscipiens
præposituram comitatus, expulit de comitatu *Osulfum*. At
ille, collectis postmodum viribus, eundem *Copsi* in introitu
ecclesiæ de *Niweburne* interfecit. Ipse quoque post paucos
menses, dum impetu equi currentis ferretur in lanceam ob-
viantis sibi latronis, delatus statim moritur. Deinde *Cospa-*
tricius, ex nepte regis *ÆTHELREDI* progenitus, ut supra dic-
tum est, eunt a rege *WILLIELMO* comitatum administra-
vit. Quem postea idem rex, ei auferens, dedit *Waldefo*, filio
Siwardi comitis, quem ipse habuerat ex *Ælfleda* filia *Aldredi*
comitis. *Waltefo* vero capto et occiso, commisit rex comi-
tatum *Walchero* episcopo. Quo occiso, dedit comitatum
cuidam *Albrio*. Illo vero relinquente comitatum, datus est
cuidam *Roaberto de Mulbreio*. A quo rex *WILLIELMUS*
JUNIOR offensus, dum eum vi cepisset, ipse in sua manu
retinuit comitatum: hodieque frater ejus *HENRICUS* rex re-
tinet. Tu autem Domine. Explicit.

¹ So that the present extent of Northumberland began in the time of
Earl Osulf, about the year 1065: till which time it comprized all Yorkshire
and Durham.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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Tab. I. end of vol. I.

Winton.

ane.

1. Cruthne Mak Kynny

2. Gede.

3. Caran.

4. Duthil.

5. Wergetel.

6. Dekothot.

7. Combust.

8. Caranacait.

9. Garnaird Belg.

10. Wypopmet.

11. Fathna.

12. Enalculmel.

13. *Denortnach Neteles.*

14. *Feurdach Fingel.*

ud.) ‡

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us.

Chron. Pictorum.
 1. Caidac & Cinget
 2. Kiron.
 3. Pichich.
 4. Fortuna.
 5. Pichich.
 6. Goc.
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 9. Gochol Gochol.
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Tab. II. End of Vol. I.

Irish Nennius.

Tighernach.

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ay.

n.

Brudeus f. Melchon.
Garnad f. Domnach.
Neckan n. Verp.
Kenethus f. Luthrin.
Garnaid f. Vaid.
Brudeus f. Vaid.
Tolore.
Tolorcan f. Enfret.
Gornad f. Donel.
Druse.
Brudeus f. Fili.
Taran f. Enfidi.
Breite f. Derilei.
Nectonus f. Derilei.

son.

Drestus et Alpinus.
Onuis f. Urgust.
Brete f. Urgust.
Kenethus f. Viredeg.
Alpinus f. Vrod.

Drest f. Talorcen.
Tolorcen f. Drusten.
Tolorcen f. Unust.
Canul f. Tang.
Cuastain f. Urgust.
Vidanist f. Urgust.
{ Drust f. Constantin.
{ Talorgus f. Uthol.
Uven f. Unust.
Urard f. Bargot.
Bread.

KENNETHUS f. Alpini.

Kennaletth.

Bruidi Mac Malcon.

Cinedh f. Luthreni.
Gartnaith m. Oith.
Bruidi f. Foith.
Dolairg m. Foith.
Dolargain m. Anfrith.
Gartnaidh f. Donaldi.
Drost f. Domnail.
Bruide m. Bile.
Taracin.
Brude m. Derile.
Netan m. Derile.

Drost. Elpin.
Aongus m. Fergus.
Bruide.
Cinaoh.

Conal m. Teige.
Constantin m. Fergus.
Aongus m. Fergus.

Owen m. Aongus.

CINADH m. Alpin.



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